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HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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Under orders of the Council the following system of transliteration will be adopted for the future in all publications of the Society. Authors of papers for the *Journal*, Pt. I, are particularly requested to adhere to it in their contributions.

A. FOR THE DEVANAGARĪ ALPHABET, AND FOR ALL ALPHABETS RELATED TO IT.

अ *a*, आ *ā*, इ *i*, ई *ī*, उ *u*, ऊ *ū*, ऋ *ṛ*, ॠ *ṝ*, ऌ *ḷ*, ए *e*, ऐ *ai*,
ओ *o*, औ *au*, ं *ṁ*, ँ ˜ : *ḥ*

क *k*,	ख *kh*,	ग *g*,	घ *gh*,	ङ *ṅ*
च *c*,	छ *ch*,	ज *j*,	झ *jh*,	ञ *ñ*
ट *ṭ*,	ठ *ṭh*,	ड *ḍ*,	ढ *ḍh*,	ण *ṇ*
त *t*,	थ *th*,	द *d*,	ध *dh*,	न *n*
प *p*,	फ *ph*,	ब *b*,	भ *bh*,	म *m*
य *y*,	र *r*,	ल *l*,	व *v*,	(ळ *ḷ*)
श *ç*,	ष *ṣ*,	स *s*,	ह *h*.	

In the above the *virāma* has been omitted for the sake of clearness.

In Modern Vernaculars only; ड़ may be represented by *ṛ*, and ढ़ by *ṛh*.

Avagraha is to be represented by an apostrophe, thus सो ऽपि *sō 'pi*. *Visarga* is represented by *ḥ*, *Jihvāmūlīya* by *ḫ*, and *Upadhmānīya* by *ḫ*. *Anusvāra* is represented by *ṁ*, thus संसर्ग *saṁsarga*, and *anunāsika* by the sign ˜ over the letter nasalized, thus अँ *ā̃*, आँ *ã̄*, and so on. The *udātta* accent is represented by the sign ´ and the *svarita* by ^. Thus, अग्निः *agníḥ*, जनिता *janitā́*, क्व *kvá*, कन्या *kanyā́*. The *anudātta* accent may be represented by ˋ. Thus, ते अवर्धन्त *tḗ àvardhanta*.

B. FOR PERSIAN (INCLUDING ARABIC WORDS IN PERSIAN) AND HINDŪSTĀNĪ.

(The system is not applicable to Arabic when pronounced as in Arabic speaking countries) :—

Vowels.	Consonants.	Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.
ا a	ب b	ﺑﮭ bh
آ ā	پ p	ﭘﮭ ph
ا i	ت t	ﺗﮭ th
ای ī		ٹ ṭ
ے ē		ٹھ ṭh
ا u	ث ṡ	
او ū	ج j	ﺟﮭ jh
و o	چ c	ﭼﮭ ch

Vowels.		Consonants.		Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.	
اَیْ	ai	ح	ḥ		
اَوْ	au	خ	kh		
		د	d	ڈھ	dh
				ڈ	ḍ
				ڑھ	ḍh
		ذ	z		
		ر	r	ڑ	ṛ
				ڑھ	ṛh
		ز	z		
		ژ	zh		
		س	s		
		ش	sh		
		ص	ṣ		
		ض	ẓ		
		ط	ṭ		
		ظ	ẓ		
		ع	ʿ		
		غ	gh		
		ف	f		
		ق	q		
		ک	k	کھ	kh
		گ	g	گھ	gh
		ل	l		
		م	m		
		ن	n		
		ں	when representing *anunāsika* in Dēva Nāgarī, by ˜ on the preceding vowel		
		و	w (or rarely v)		
		ھ	h		
		ی	y		
Hamzah		أ	(where necessary) ʾ		

The ل of the article ال in Arabic words should be assimilated before the solar letters; and the vowel *u* which often precedes the article and absorbs its vowel should remain attached to the word to which it belongs. Thus—اقبال الدولة Iqbālu-d-daulah.

Tanwīn may be rendered by *n*—e. g., *ittifāqan*. *Alif-i maqṣūrah* should be rendered by *ā*.

Final ه need not be written in Persian and Hindūstānī words, but should be written in Arabic words.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. 1.—1903.

The HISTORY OF NEPAL *and surrounding Kingdoms (1000-1600 A.D.) compiled chiefly from MSS. lately discovered.—By* PROFESSOR CECIL BENDALL, M.A. (*University College, London*). *Written as an Historical Introduction to* PAṆḌIT HARAPRASĀD SĀSTRI'S *Catalogue of the Nepal Durbar Library.* With chronological Tables and a Plate (facsimiles of MSS.)

The Catalogue to which the present Essay forms an introduction is the result of a joint expedition to Nepal in the cold weather of 1898-99 originally suggested by me, and taken part in by myself and Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri, accompanied under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by his assistant, Paṇḍit Binodabihāri Bhaṭṭāchāryya. While co-operating with one another throughout, we arranged to divide generally our work so that the archæological [1] and historical part of the task should fall to myself, while the Paṇḍits dealt with the literary portion.

A great deal of our time was of course taken up by the examination of the Mahārāja's collection of MSS., which, as regards the antiquity of the documents, are surpassed by no Sanskrit Library known to exist. My own necessarily very hurried examination of this remarkable col-

[1] I hope to publish my inscriptions with my general Report.

lection in 1884 led to the first definite account published.[1] Since then Paṇḍit Haraprasād visited the Library, and gave some notes on it in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVI, Pt. I (1897), pp. 310 *sqq.* Some further notes were made by Prof. S. Lévi[2] of Paris in 1897, giving attention "surtout aux colophons des manuscrits, si importants pour l'histoire." As, however, Monsieur Lévi subsequently informed me that his examination of the Library was far from complete, I felt all the greater pleasure in seeing the more exhaustive examination taken in hand of which the present Catalogue is the result. My own share in it was chiefly in helping the Paṇḍits to decipher the figures and other chronological data with which acquaintance of nearly 25 years with ancient Nepalese MSS. has given me some familiarity. When I was at work in the Library, I requested the Paṇḍits always to show me colophons of MSS. containing kings' names and dates. A considerable portion, however, of the present Catalogue had to be compiled by the junior Paṇḍit after my departure, and consequently I have been led to adopt another method of verification, which, thanks to the kind co-operation of the Residents in Nepal, Lieutenant-Colonel W. Loch and his successor, Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Pears, has given excellent results.

This method was to send to the Resident a series of copies made on tracing-paper of all the important colophons containing points, numerals and the like, requiring verification. No clue was of course given to the words or figures expected to be filled in on the blank spaces left; and the fidelity of the tracing was vouched for in each case by the correspondence of palæographic peculiarities with the date assigned.

In my previous attempts[3] to adjust Nepalese chronology by means of MS.-colophons, I always endeavoured, as far as possible, to use and harmonise the data furnished (1) by formal histories and **chronicles**, and (2) by the **historical notices furnished by the scribes** of MSS. in their **colophons** (brief, but valuable as contemporary evidence), and also **incidental notices** given **in the body of works** like dramas. Of the latter class a good example is the drama Mudita-Kuvalayāśvanāṭaka from which copious extracts are given by Dr. Pischel in his Catalogue of the German Oriental Society's MSS., pp. 7-8. The present Catalogue furnishes several more instances of this kind.

[1] See the present writer's "Journey in Nepal and Northern India," pp. 16—20, where the previous notices by R. Lawrence and D. Wright are referred to.

[2] Rapport, p. 16 [84] (Acad. des Insèrr. Séance du 27 Janr. 1899).

[3] Transactions of Fifth Congress Orientalists (Berlin, 1881) Verhandlungen II. Hälfte ii, pp. 189 *sqq.* (1882); Catalogue of the Buddhist Skt. MSS., Cambridge, 1883 (Historical Introd.); "Journey in Nepal" *Ibid.*,...1886 (Tables). To these last two I hereinafter refer as 'Camb. Cat.' (distinguished from 'Cat.', which refers to the new Catalogue) and 'Journey,' respectively.

To the number of extant native chronicles the Mahārāja's library contains an **important accession** [1] in the shape of a small palm-leaf MS. of a Vaṃśāvalī discovered by me shortly before I left Nepal. Since my return to England owing to the kind negotiation of Col. Loch, I have not only received an excellent copy of the MS., but also the favour from H.H. the Mahārāja of the loan for three months of the original, so that I have been able to collate and photograph all important passages.

My use of the chronicles has been adversely criticized [2] by some scholars, though countenanced by others; [3] but I venture to think that the **discovery of the present MS. puts matters in a somewhat new light.**

Though written continuously in a single handwriting corresponding with the time (reign of Jayasthiti-malla, A.D. 1380–1394) at which the chronicle ends [4] (see the Plate annexed, figs. 3–10), the new Vaṃśāvalī really contains three distinct chronicles, designated accordingly in the present essay V^1, V^2, V^3.

V^1 is in the form of brief annals of the successive reigns not unlike the other Vaṃśāvalīs, but giving a much greater number of dates, in addition to the lengths of the reigns. The leading events of each reign are also noticed in some cases with dates, at first in words and later on in numerals.

The leaf-numbering begins at f. 17 and this portion ends with 30a. The language is no doubt intended for Sanskrit, but in obscurity and a perfectly wild absence of syntax [5] it rivals the worst colophons of Nepalese MSS. that I have seen. I thought at first of printing the whole, but after studying my transcript and taking the advice of friends I came to the conclusion that I should either have to print the whole without spaces, which would be misleading and unsatisfactory, or to publish facsimiles. For the division of words and even sentences,

[1] As the present Catalogue gives no description of the MS. the following notes may be of interest. No. 1231. Palm-leaf; 11 by 1½ inches, leaves 17–63, with an extra leaf not numbered, thus 48 in all.

[2] "Journey," p. 93.

[3] *e.g.*, in M. S. Lévi's investigations as to the eras of Nepal.

[4] The latest dates are N.S. 508, occurring at fol. 63b. and 509 at 58a. It will be seen both from my Cambridge Cat. (*cf.* Intr. p. xxxi), and from the present Catalogue that palm-leaf MSS. become rare (owing to the general use of paper) within about a century from this time.

[5] Scientific students of the vernaculars may probably find 'method in its madness.' The frequent locution तेन कृतः or कृत for स कृतवान् or स अकरोत् certainly suggests the familiar Hindi उस ने किया. Towards the end (ff. 29b, 30) it drops into a form of language which is practically Newari with an unusually large allowance of words borrowed from Aryan sources.

when one had no fixed rules of grammar to help in the interpretation, seemed in many places quite doubtful. I have been consequently permitted by the Council of the Society to take the latter alternative, and have accordingly reproduced a selection of the most important leaves, of which I made legible negatives while the MS. was lent to me. It will be noted that the selected leaves begin with 3A. I only publish now a portion of this leaf, as I reserve for future treatment the kings of Nepal before 879 A.D. in connection with my recently-discovered inscriptions.

From the prominent way in which temple-donations are recorded, it may be conjectured that this part of the MS. (V^1) may be in some way connected with the records of the great shrine of Paśupati.

V^2 is a document of different origin; it is a list of births of royal and other distinguished personages. The language is unfortunately old Newari; but one can make out the names and dates clearly enough. These extend, not always in strict chronological order, from N.S. 177 to 396. A specimen is given in the Plate, fig. 10. All the information given in this section of the Chronicle, so far as it relates to the kings, will be found condensed in the notes to the Table of kings below. Towards the end of the section other information beside births, deaths, and the like is introduced, but I have been able to make but little use of this owing to the difficulties of the language, for which I can get no adequate help either in Nepal or in Europe.

V^3 is perhaps merely a continuation of V^2. I have called it a separate document, because a slight break with double daṇḍas occurs in the original MS. at the end of fol. 36^a, and because at this point there is a marked difference of style. The string of short paragraphs, each recording little more than a birth, is abandoned, and the annals become more expanded. The previous section had ended, as I said, with N.S. 396. This, however, begins with N.S. 379 and the history would not seem to be treated on a strictly chronological basis, as the irregularity of order in the dates noticed in V^2 is here more pronounced. The latest date, as already noted, is N.S. 508 (f. 63*b*).

The events mentioned in V^1 are sometimes described here in fuller detail.[1] On the other hand, the chronological details though full seem not to be quite so trustworthy.[2]

[1] For example, the famine in the reign of Abhayamalla in N.S. 352 (V^3, 39*b*, mentioned at p. 8, note 2, below.)

[2] Thus at 40^a we get the birth of Jayatuṅgamalla, son of Jayarudramalla, Samvat 416 mārgaśira śukla trayodaśī Anurādha ghaṭi 17 Śūla 37 aṅgāravare (Tuesday). But Prof. Jacobi, who has kindly worked out the date, reports that the day in question was a Monday and points out that "Mārgaśira can never be

Nevertheless I feel sure that this section must contain much valuable information, and it is in the hope of drawing the attention of the few scholars skilled in the Himalayan languages to the matter that I reproduce a specimen-leaf (Plate, fig. 10). The passage refers to the invasion of Harisiṃha of Simraon about which I have more to say below.

Having thus indicated the materials of the present investigation, the divisions of the subject may be stated.

I.—The History of the Nepal Valley, A.D. 1000-1600 (*i.e.*, **Kāthmāndu, Patan, and Bhatgāon**):

Chronological notes on the dynasties of the surrounding states:

II.—Western Nepal. III.—Tirhut (Eastern and Western).

To these notes I have added (as Table IV) a list of a dynasty, which I have not been able to recognize.

The main results of the enquiry are summarized in the Tables at the end of this article, which constitute of course its most important feature, and will probably provide most students with all that they require. The present notes are chiefly intended to elucidate the Tables and especially to bring out the relations between the dated series of kings obtained from MSS. and the dynasties detailed in the new Vaṃśāvalī.

I. The present collection of MSS. affords an example [See Plate; fig. 2, l. 2] of a date[1] earlier than any hitherto found referable to the Nepal era, but unfortunately no dated MS. with a king's name occurs earlier than those previously known.

It is interesting to note that the king Rāghavadeva mentioned by Cunningham[2] as the traditional founder of the Nepal era of 879-80, but passed over in the Vaṃśāvalī of D. Wright[3] and by Kirkpatrick,[4] is duly recorded in the new chronicle. Not only so, but the years of reign assigned to him and his immediate successors quite accord with

Anurādha." I have, moreover, noted quite a number of cases where months in certain years are called *dvi* (*tīya*) where no such intercalation, according to Sewell and Dīkṣit's Tables, occurred; compare Table of Kings, note 10, below.

1 See Catalogue, pp. 85 (ग्व) and 140 (Laṅkāvatāra). The reading 28 must be altered to 29; nor can I concur in the description '*guptākṣara-likhitam*.' The form of *k* is distinctly post-Gupta; and the general appearance of the writing with its closely placed *akṣaras* seems to preclude the Śrī-Harṣa era. The forms of ṅ (guttural) and the form of the *akṣara*-numeral 20 are archaisms that one would expect to find in a document written early in the tenth century.

2 Indian Eras, p. 74.

3 'History of Nepal,' Cambridge, 1877.

4 'An account of the Kingdom of Nepaul,' London, 1811.

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the tradition of his having founded the era. Thus, if we add together the duration of his reign and his five successors down to Lakṣmīkāmadeva we get about 135 years. This, again, added to 879-80 brings us to the second decade of the eleventh century, when we know from a colophon that Lakṣmīkāma had commenced to rule at all events as joint-sovereign, becoming sole king later on.

The earliest king of Nepal mentioned with a date in the Catalogue is Bhāskaradeva; and it is very satisfactory to find that this date already noticed by Paṇḍit Haraprasād (J.A.S.B. for 1897, Pt. I, p. 312) is verifiable. Prof. Kielhorn has kindly calculated it for me and it corresponds to 24th September, 1046. The new chronicle duly records this king with a rather obscure note [1] as to his 'repairing his paternal crown.' The other chronicles make him the founder of a new dynasty. Of the next king, Baladeva [2] (called in V[1] Balavantadeva), we have a dated MS.[3]

Of Harṣadeva's reign we have now two MSS.[4] A third date has been added from the Chronicle, which says of this reign merely: राजा श्रीहर्षदेव वर्ष १४ ऊनविंशति सम्वच्छर सतद्वय परिवर्त्तमानं॥ Interpreted in the light of the two other dates this rather crudely expressed notice gives good sense, if we take it to mean that Harṣa died in N.S. 219 current. This fits also quite well with the duration of the next reigns[5] as given in our Chronicle. The credibility of the dates in this part of the chronicle is further enhanced by its mention of the completion in 239 (date in words) of a tank by S'ivadeva, the next sovereign.

[1] See Plate, fig. 3B, line 4, medio तेन पितृमौलि त (? न) विक्षत: "his father's diadem was broken up and he destroyed the golden image (to make a crown);" or मौलिर्नवीकृत: "the crown was renewed." Kirkpatrick (p. 263) records a similar tradition for a king reigning some twenty years later.

[2] Name wrongly restored in my previous lists as Bāladeva. V[1] records him as the founder of Haripur. Plate, fig. 3 B, last line.

[3] As to Vāṇadeva the MS. (referred to in the table) of Vāmadeva makes my identification (Journey, p. 9) more difficult. But the existence of Vāṇadeva's father, the king (*bhūnātha*) Yaśodeva, seems to be confirmed by the Tib. notices in J. Buddh. T.S. Ind., Vol. I, p. 27, where we learn that a king Anantakīrti was ruling in the middle of this century in another region of Nepal (Palpa). Bābu Sarat Chandra Das has favoured me with the original Tibetan of the passage and it is just possible that the name གྲགས་པ་མཐ་ཡས་, grags-pa-mtha-yas, which he Sanskritizes as Anantakīrti, may be a form of Yaśodeva the king of Bal-po, Nepal in general (or the Palpa district in Western Nepal?) The chronology at least would agree.

[4] See the Table.

[5] The supposition would not fit with the allowance of 21 years to [Sadā.] S'ivadeva, made by "G" in Tab. I, Col. 4, of my 'Journey.'

This was called after the Yuvarāj (जोराज) Indra or Mahendra-deva, Mahendra-saras. It was otherwise known as Madanasaras.[1] It will be seen that this date falls in the year before the writing of a MS. in the same reign.

I have lingered over these somewhat minute details for two reasons: (1) Because it forms a new feature of the present chronicle to find so early as this[2] dates expressed both in words and figures that accord with the *contemporary* evidence of the scribes; (2) because doubt[3] has been expressed whether the Nepal Samvat (of 879-80) was actually in use in the eleventh century A.D. It is satisfactory to note that our chronicle, following the tradition already known from Kirkpatrick, does mention[4] the aforesaid Indradeva both as *yuvārāja* and *rāja*, as we have now a MS. of his reign. It will be seen, however, that the number of years (12) assigned to his reign is probably excessive. The dates of the next two reigns overlap one another. If this is not a case of subdivision of the kingdom of which there are so many instances, it may be quite well explained by the tradition preserved in the records of Wright and Bhagvanlāl, that Mahādeva retired early in his reign from active sovereignty and Narendra (or Narasiṃha)[5] became his regent. Of the reign of the next king, Ānanda, MSS. are now numerous. It is curious that the other chronicles either give his name wrongly (Wright, Bh) or omit his reign altogether (Kirkpatrick). It is found, however, correctly spelt at f. 31*b*. of our MS.[6] chronicle. Of Rudra's reign no MSS. are extant. The years assigned by our MS. to his reign (8) seem to show the origin of the curious error in the length of the reign (80 years) assigned by Kirkpatrick. Equally correctly given is the form Amṛta, which is now verified by a MS.[7] The 'great dearth' re-

1 The event is again chronicled with the same date in V². See Plate, fig. 9, l. 4.

2 Kirkpatrick's dates begin later (thirteenth century). Those in Wright only become correct somewhat later (invasion of Harisiṃha).

3 A. Foucher, Iconographie Bouddhique, p. 28, n. 1

4 The records preserved by Wright and Bhagavanlāl (Ind. A. XIV. 413) pass this king over.

5 The actually discrepant date is that supplied by the colophon in the Cat., p. 62. Here there can be no doubt as to the interpretation of the chronogram, through some of the terminations of the other words must be corrected for the scansion. But the date seems not to work out. The obscure phrase *rājārājasādṛśye* may quite possibly refer to regency.

6 The common mistake 'Nanda-'deva is found at f. 25*a* (plate, fig 5, l.1.). Rājendralāl Mitra makes the same blunder in his text of Aṣṭas. Pr. pref., p. XXIV. note.

7 Cat. p. 65 (५). I find from a tracing sent from Nepal by Col. Loch that the Paṇḍit's reading of the year (296) is quite correct, and in that in the next line *Śrī Amṛtadevasya* is quite clear.

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corded by Kirkpatrick is duly chronicled in V[1] (*Mahāmārī-durbhikṣambhavati*) 25.*b*.[1] The next date from MSS. is obtained from a MS. in the Mahārāja's library noted by myself, but omitted by the Paṇḍit in his Catalogue. It is from No. 1648, a MS. of Caraka, I have since supplemented my note by a tracing kindly sent by Colonel Pears. The full date is given in the Table. But as the king Ratnadeva is mentioned in none of the chronicles, I am inclined to think that he must have been a local rāja, or a king of Western Nepal.[1]

After Amṛtadeva my previous lists left one of those gaps which it is now most satisfactory to find filled in. The tradition reproduced by Wright and Bhagavanlāl quite fails here. Kirkpatrick alone gives correct, though inadequate, details, which are now supplemented by the new chronicle and, what is more important, verified by MSS.

As to Someśvara-deva, see the Table and note there (p. 25). Kirkpatrick's 'Buz Caum Déo' of course represents Vijayakāmadeva; his 'Any Mull' is a less recognizable equivalent of Arimalla; but in Nepalese documents न and र are easily confused. After the reign of[2] Abhayadeva, which, though called by Kirkpatrick 'inauspicious,' was anyhow fairly long as a goodly array of MSS. now shows, the chronicles hitherto available quite break down.

Even if Jayadeva and Anantadeva were brothers,[3] as Wright (p. 162) and Bh. state, the latter certainly did not reign at the same time. Two kings whose names, Jayabhīma and Jayaśāhadeva, I have taken from the chronicle,[4] intervened; and it is extremely satisfactory

[1] Supposing the era to be that of Nepal, which I think probable from the writing.

[2] 'The great dearth' recorded by Kirkpatrick for this and the previous reign are duly registered in our chronicle (25*b*; plate, fig. 6. l. 3), where famine-prices for grain are also mentioned. The prices are given in greater detail in V[3] (Newari portion of chronicle) at fol. 39*b* for Saṃvat 352.

[3] The birth-list of the chronicle (V[2]) makes Ananta not the son of Abhaya, but of a certain S'rī-Rājadeva and of Rudramadevī.

[4] Fol. 26*a*. The whole passage, following on that reproduced in 25*b*; plate, fig. 6, runs thus: सम्वच्छर तृसप्तपञ्च आषाढ शुचिद्वितीया पुनर्वसु सोमवासरेत्यादि चालन चतुर्मासा ॥ पुष्याभिषेक राजा श्रीजयभीमदेव वर्षं १३ मा॰ ३. I formerly thought this date, which, as Dr Kielhorn kindly informs me, corresponds to 7th June 1255, referred to the coronation of Jayabhīma, in spite of the punctuation, which seems not always trustworthy in this MS. On re-reading the passage, however, I now consider that it must refer to the first shock of the earthquake, which is accordingly stated to have lasted at intervals over four months. This accords better with the subsequent date, 377, of a MS., once the property of the late Paṇḍit Bhagvanlāl Indraji. I may here mention that I have made enquiries by letter for this MS. in the Bhagvānlāl collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society, but without success. From V[3] (fol. 36*b*) we learn that in 378 Caitra Jayabhīmadeva had become rāja, with Jayasiṃha (sihamalladeva) as yuvarāja.

to find that one of them (Jayabhima) is fully attested by a dated MS.; so that again the new chronicle and newly-discovered MS.[1] confirm one another.

Of the next king, Anantamalla we have now a goodly array of dates[2] from MSS. Besides these there is an interesting note in Kirkpatrick (p. 264) stating that "in this prince's reign and in the Newar year 408, or Sumbuth 1344,[3] many Khassias (a western tribe) emigrated to Nepal, and settled there; and three years after in the Newar year 411 a considerable number of Tirhoot families also planted themselves there." What this really amounted to may be told in the words of the chronicle (f. 26*b*; Pl. fig. 7): "12 years 3 months after [*i.e.*, after the beginning of Ananta's reign, or after the last event mentioned, a quarrel between his sons] the Khasiya king Jayatāri first entered, Saṃvat four hundred and eight in the month Pauṣa. After a slaughter of (eight ?) hundred Khasiyas the rest retired [to the jungles ?] and the country resumed its ordinary state. On the 13th of Phālguna sudi of the same year Jayatāri again entered [the country, as if] for a friendly purpose, [but] he burned with fire villages and other places. He visited (?) the Syeṃgu-chait[ya], saw the image of Lokeśvara at Bug[a]ma[4] and visited (?) the Paśupati [shrine]. He got safe back to his kingdom. [This happened in] Saṃvat four hundred and nine. Again the [king] of Tirhut entered [Nepal]. This happened [in] Saṃvat four hundred and eleven in the month Māgha."[5]

Kirkpatrick's "emigrations" were thus more or less predatory incursions, which as we shall see, became increasingly common later on.

After the death of Ananta a troublous time ensued, and one that has been hitherto extremely obscure. In my previous lists I had to note at this time: "Kings uncertain[6] for 60 years." Though much

[1] See MS. of the Mahālakṣmīvrata numbered 1320 and noticed at pp 47-8, 123-4 of the Catalogue. Mr. R. Sewell has kindly verified the date, which works out to 2nd April, A.D. 1260.

[2] One of these is that given at p. 44 ( ) of the Cat., and there referred to Ānandamalla. In my tracing however the name Ananta is quite clear. Wright (pp. 162-65) makes a similar confusion. I have no verification of the date at p. 63 *fin.* of the Cat., which makes Abhayamalla still reigning in N.S. 385.

[3] The double date is interesting, though the Vikrama Saṃvat is not known to have been in use in Nepal at this early time.

[4] On this celebrated image see Foucher 'Iconographie' p. 100 and his pl. IV. 1 from a miniature in the Library of the As. Soc. of Bengal, where also the village-name is spelt Bugamna, not 'Bungmati' as now.

[5] For the text see Plate, fig. 7, lines 1-5.

[6] The main reason of this uncertainty, *viz.*, the varying accounts of Jayasthiti-malla's ancestors, who never ruled in Nepal proper at all, is suggested below.

still remains uncertain, it is satisfactory to find that this long interval is shortened on both sides by dated reigns that may be regarded as fixed.

The first of these is the reign of Jayānandadeva which followed[1] that of Ananta and is certified by a date (N.S. 438) in the Catalogue (p. 73) which I had previously noted in the MS. The next king, according to the chronicle, was Jayarudramalla.[2] His accession, the coronation of his co-regent, and his own death (*svargastha*) and "suttee" of his four wives are recorded. It is probably significant that the date given in two sections of the chronicle for the last event is only a few months[3] after the invasion of Harisiṃhadeva of Simraon.

The history of the next twenty years cannot at present be satisfactorily told, until the Newari of V[3] has been interpreted. Besides the well-attested invasion of Harisiṃhadeva, several other foreign powers made themselves felt at this time. One of these was an invasion by Ādit[y]amalla. After narrating the death of Jayarudra, V[1] adds merely तचान्तरे आदितमल्ल नेपाल प्रविष्टः ॥ But V[3] narrates the same event more fully. The Newari sentence begins संवत् ४४८ फागुण शुक्ल सप्तमी खसिया राजा आदीतमल्ल (46a; Pl., fig. 10,[4]), so that we learn the exact date (448 Phālguṇa sudi 7) and the interesting fact that Āditya was a king of Western Nepal, thus foreshadowing the Gorkha conquest of more recent times.

Returning to the semi-Sanskrit account of V[1], which curiously makes no mention of the invasion of Harisiṃha, we find (27*b*) that an infant son of Jayarudra died a few days after his father's death. His daughter Sati-nāyakadevī was placed under the guardianship of her grandmother Padumalladevī.[4] The young princess (after being crowned Rāṇī, according to Kirkpatrick), was married to Haricandradeva belonging to the royal family of Benares.[5] He appears to have

[1] तचान्तरे राजा श्रीजयानन्ददेव प्रवर्तते तदनन्तरे। श्रीजयरुद्रमल्ल says the chronicle (27 *a* fin.) after narrating the events of Ananta's reign. This probably implies an interval between the two latter reigns. Fleet, Gupta Inscrr. Introd. p. 186 contrasts the meanings of *antare* and *anantaram*, especially in the records of Nepal.

[2] A co-regent of this king was Jayārimalla. The mention of this prince in V. *ff.* 27*a fin.* 27*b*) is very obscure, but V[2] distinctly describes him (45*a*.) as *Saṃrāja* (with Jayarudra) between N.S. 440 at 443. He died in 464 (*ib.* 50*b*).

[3] N.S. 446 (in figures and chronogram) Āṣāḍha pūrṇamī f. 27*b*, Prathama Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā 46*b* (but Āṣā. was *not* intercalated this year). Muhammadan authorities cited in Miss Duff's *Chronology of India*.

[4] पुत्री सती नायकदेवी नामः पितामहीश्रीपद्मलक्ष्मदेवी प्रतिपालितं (27*b*). The sentence forms a choice example of the grammar of V[1] referred to above.

[5] काशीश्वरवंशज (*sic*) 27*b*. 'Rajah of Benares,' Kirkpatrick,

lived in Nepal some time, but was poisoned 'after some years' [1] (*katipayavarṣāntare*). After this his brother Gopāladeva accompanied by Jagatsiṃhadeva (called in V[1] Kārṇāṭava[ṃ]śaja and in V[3] (49*b*) "Tirhuti-yā Jagatsiṃhakumāra") seized the person of Nāyakadevī [2]. The allies then appear to have taken Bhatgāon and Patan. Gopāladeva was subsequently beheaded by Jagatsiṃha's followers. After this the prince Jagatsiṃha enjoyed the sovereignty for a few days; but he was afterwards put into confinement, [3]; by whom we are not told. His daughter was Rajal[l]adevī [4]; and her mother Nāyakadevī died 10 days after her birth; so that (like her mother) she was brought up by her paternal grandmother, whose name was Devaladevī. I do not understand the reference to Paśupatimal[l]adeva [5] that immediately follows (Plate; fig. 8, l. 1). Possibly he was the representative of some rival line of kings, as we read directly after, that "by the consent of both royal families Jayarājadeva was made king on 467 Śrāvaṇa badi 4" which was subsequently [6] ratified by general consent.

About the reign of Jayarāja's son and successor Jayārjuna some uncertainty remains, though this could probably be removed by the full interpretation of the present chronicle. Passed over by all the histories, his existence and reign were first pointed out by the present writer from the colophons of Cambridge MSS. Even in the present chronicle his reign and its duration are not formally recorded, though he is several times referred to as 'Śrī Jayārjuna rājā' and 'Jayārjuna-nṛpa.'

The reason of all this is not far to seek.

In 474 [7], that is while Jayarājadeva was still reigning, took place

[1] V[3] (47*a*) gives the exact date of his 'violent death' बल्लन (*sic*) स्वर्ग N.S. 455 Jyeṣṭha sudi 5.

[2] ज० समाश्वित संग्रह्य क्षतं नायकदेवी

[3] श्रीजगतसिंह कुमारस्य परिजने[न] शिरच्छेत्वा श्रीगोपालदेवहत्यु। तदनन्तरे कतिपयदिवसे श्रीजगतसिंह कुमरेण राज भुंजितं। पश्चात्तु कुमार बंधनं भवेत्। तस्य पुत्री श्रीराजलदेवी नामः। जातेन दश दिवसान्ते मातृश्च हत्यु। पितामही श्रीदेवल० etc., (see Plate, fig. 8).

[4] We are told in V[3] (51*b*) that this princess's mother was Nāyakadevi; so that Jagatsiṃha carried off the bride of his ally's brother. Rājalla was born N.S. 467 Pauṣa badi 10.

[5] More is said of him and (possibly the same) '*bandhana*' in V[3] (52 *a*) under date 469 Mārgaś. su. 12.

[6] The punctuation of fig. 8 l.2 would lead one to suppose at first sight that the general ratification *preceded* the particular one (Vaiśākha being 3 months earlier); but the second date doubtless refers to the birth. In all birth-entries *the date comes first.*

[7] I transcribe the Newari of V[3] (53*b*): सं ४७४ आश्विन शुदि ९ श्रीजयार्जुनराजमल्लदेव

the **marriage** of the prince **Jayasthiti, a descendant of Harisimha of Simraon,** with **Rājalladevī**. Jayasthiti was reigning when the chronicle was concluded and the chronicler naturally magnifies 'the powers that be' and says little of the title of the lawful king whom Jayasthiti had managed to defeat and depose. But we see from the colophons of MSS. the real state of things. In 494 Kārttika, October 1363 (a verified date: see the Table) Jayārjuna was on the throne and the colophon of the next MS. is fortunately very explicit. The MS. (see Cat. p. 88) was written in a well-known vihār in Lalit-Patan and the colophon adds in 491 (A.D. 371) that Jayārjuna was victoriously reigning (not only there but) '*Nepāla-maṇḍale*' which we may construe to mean the whole of the valley. The scribes call Jayārjuna king down to February 1376.[1] His name is also mentioned in connexion with the initiation-ceremony of Dharmamalla, son of Jayasthiti and Rājalla in 497 Jyeṣṭha[2] (summer of 1377). On the other hand about 503 (date of latest event in V[1]) we find a reference to Jayārjuna as भग्न देवः वग्राज्जयार्जुन नृपो[3] which can only mean his defeat, followed as it is by an acknowledgment of Jayasthiti as king of Nepal.[3] That Jayārjuna, however, did not submit without a struggle may be seen from the interesting colophon at Cat. p. 39, l. 6 (unfortunately not dated) from which we learn that the MS. was copied "in the victorious reign of Jayasthiti," and that "at that time the king named Jayārjuna was entering, with his ally, the Tripura-rāja[4] in great commotion."

Jayasthiti was evidently a patron of literature; not only are MSS. of his reign more numerous than in any preceding, but we find from the chronicle that even before his accession he celebrated the birth-ceremony of his son Dharmamalla by a performance of a 'four-act Rāmā-

सकोवनम्बिज्याडा ख(?)पोन्दुम्बियाभ्यखाचोनं डा खाखिव् विवाह जुव ॥ The princess's name is not mentioned; but another marriage hardly would have been mentioned in the chronicle.

[1] Verified, see note to Table. I have re-examined the date in Cambridge Add., 1488, which I formerly published as equivalent to 504 or 1384. The writing is very faint. See now note 3 to table below, p. 27.

[2] The passage is evidently an interesting one, though unfortunately the end is not clear to me: पुनः वटुकर्षे (करणे) सम्वत् ४९० ज्येष्ठ शुदि पञ्चमी बुधवार तत महउत्सव कृत्य वालरामायन् मण्डलाकार श्री जयार्जुन राजा सुपण्डियामनकु भारोष ॥

[3] The words following नृपो are चार्य्या(?)त्रिजानाःर्थ नत्वा द्वादश वत्सराब्द-दवनीनाथस्तु । भक्तापुरः ॥ लोकेत्य (*sic*) गुणान्वितो विजयते रामावतारोपरः सत्रीमान् जयस्थिति राज मल्ल नृपति : नेपाल भूपालक : ॥

[4] A Tripura-rāja is several times referred to in the chronicle.

yaṇa,'[1] which was repeated[2] on the initiation-ceremony. A revival of letters, too, is vouched for by the fact that lengthy Sanskrit inscriptions in prose and verse, which had disappeared for some five centuries or more, now re-appear[3] and are continued in the reign of Jayasthiti's son.[4]

Unlike most Indian princes, Jayasthiti had, according to my conjecture, some appreciation of the value of history. When he enters on the scene there is a slight change in the style of the present chronicle. Newari words become much more frequent. It seems to me as though the chronicle V[1] had been **finished off by a partisan of the king.** In the case of the Vaṃśāvalī preserved by Wright, traces of manipulation seem to me still clearer. After a rather jejune account of his (alleged) predecessors this chronicle bursts into sudden eloquence of detail on the doings of Jayasthiti. There seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of these particulars, though as Dr. Wright points out in his note (p. 183) there is a medley of inaccurate and accurate[5] dates (p. 187). The king's literary proclivities are even exemplified by a specimen of his composition (*ibid.*)

So far so good. Where one seems to see the traces of **deliberate falsification** is in the total omission of the real kings[6] of Nepal immediately preceding and following the invasion of Harisiṃhadeva, and the **insertion of a string of ancestors** for Jayasthiti **with impossible reigns and dates.** These are tabulated in the Historical Introduction to my Cambridge Catalogue, p. xv. There is no agreement in the lists of ancestors, except that all seem to show a tradition current at least in the XVIIth century[7] A.D. that the family of Jayasthiti was descended from Harisiṃha by the male line, though it should be observed that the inscription there cited ignores Jayasthiti and his immediate ancestors and goes, by a considerable *maṇḍūkapluti* from Jayasthiti's grandson Yakṣamalla back to 'Ŀarayat'-siṃha. Even more suggestive of what I regard as the correct facts is the form of Inscription No. 16 of

[1] A dramatized Rāmāyana appears in the present collection, p. 246.

[2] See note 2 to preceding page.

[3] 'Journey in Nepal' pp. 12, 83. Bhagvanlāl and Wright mention an inscription of the king himself 'on a stone near Lalitapaṭṭan.'

[4] Ind. Ant. IX, 183.

[5] This (N.S. 515), it should be observed, is the *first* date in that Vaṃśāvalī that is reconcileable with the testimony of MS.-colophons and inscriptions save only the memorable date of Harisiṃha's invasion (p. 175).

[6] Wright's 'Ānandamalla' (pp. 262-299) seems to be a mixture of Anantamalla and Jayānandadeva. He totally omits Jayabhīma, Jayarāja and Jayārjuna, all mentioned in the present chronicle and confirmed by MSS.

[7] The inscription and the play cited fall within this century.

Bhagvanlāl's series which was issued by the son of Jayasthiti, Jyotirmalla in N.S. 533. Here there is a short genealogy (tabulated by Bhagvanlāl), but no 'fancy' ancestry on his father's side. On the contrary, he mentions his father merely as 'belonging to the Sūryavaṃśa' and then most significantly adds that he (Jayasthiti) was the **'husband of Rājalladevī.**[1] The reason is now clear. It was through his **mother and not through his father** that Jyotirmalla had any hereditary **claim to the throne.**

We may now turn back to a very important point in this part of the history of Nepal, around which a good deal of misapprehension has gathered, namely the **invasion of Harisiṃha.**

In spite of the boast of Caṇḍeśvara, Harisiṃha's minister that he was "victorious over all the kings of Nepal",[2] there seems to be at present no evidence beyond that of the Vaṃśāvali-tradition preserved by Wright and Bhagvanlāl to show that Harisiṃha established himself in the valley of Nepal. Against this we may place the testimony of the new Vaṃśāvalī, which was composed within about half a century of the event in question and (what is far more convincing) is confirmed by the colophons of several MSS. The precise nature of Harisiṃha's expedition may be further explained by the Newari extract forming fig. 10 of the Plate; but meanwhile one can see that the effect of his expedition could hardly have been permanent, as not many years after we find a representative of the old royal family (Jayadeva)[3] on the throne. Until more evidence is forthcoming, it seems safer **to regard Harisiṃha and his ancestors**[4] who reigned in Tirhut,[5] Simraon and also possibly other parts of the Nepal-Tarai as at most **titular kings of Nepal,** even if they really claimed sovereignty over the valley of Nepal at all.

For Jayasthiti's reign MSS. are, as I have said, numerous. The earliest date (NS. 500) is taken from the Cat. p. 43, where, beside the

[1] Jayāsthiti has the very same epithet (*Rajalladevī-pati*) during his lifetime in N.S. 500. See Cat. p. 43 l. 23.

[2] Dānaratnākara, stanza 3 ap. Eggeling, Cat I.O. p. 412.

[3] As to Jayadeva, Pandit Haraprasād has very kindly furnished me with a tracing of the colophon of the Society's MS. first described by him in J. A. S. B., LXII. i., p. 250. From this it is now clear that Jayadeva (the reading °vijayadeva cannot stand) reigned on till N.S. 476, Phālguna.

[4] It should be noted that the Wright-Bhagvanlāl tradition brings in a long line of ancestors for Harisiṃha and has to stretch out the true chronology of the kingdom to work them in. Once regard them as merely kings of the Nepal-Tarni and all becomes simple. As to Nānya-deva the reputed founder of the Simraon dynasty, see Duff, Chronology, p. 134 and add a reference to Ep. Indica, I, 313.

[5] Caṇḍeśvara in the Kriyāratnākara, st. 4 merely says that his master 'ruled over all Mithilā' (Cat. Skt. MSS. I.O. p. 410).

epithet 'Rājalladevī-pati' already referred to, several additional details of interest are supplied. Among them is the name of the minister Jayata who figures also in the chronicle (V^3) at f. 54 *b*, as *Śrīupādhyā* [*ya*] in connection with the names of the king and queen.

The next king was Jayasiṃharāma who may well have been a regent, as in the year mentioned (516) the eldest son was only 19 years of age.[1]

I have elsewhere called attention to the curious triple regency of the three sons of Jayasthiti, confirmed as it is by two contemporary MSS. It is worth noting that the three princes did not divide the kingdom, but all ruled together in the little town of Bhatgāon which then was the capital. Three years later Jayadharmamalla is said in an inscription at Patan to be reigning as *yuvarāj*, an expression which would imply that Jayasthiti was still alive, in retirement. I give the text of the documents below.[2]

Of Jayadharma as actual king we have no trace. The second son Jyotirmalla is recorded in the inscription (Bhagvanlāl No. 16) already quoted to have been reigning in N.S. 533 apparently as sole king, though his brothers are mentioned. As he restored the Hindu shrine of Paśupati and the Buddhist shrines on the Svayambhū hill we may perhaps conclude that he reigned over the whole valley. In the three MSS. given in the Table Jyotirmalla is mentioned as reigning alone

[1] Born 487, Prathamāṣāḍha, V^5 54 *b*. Jayasiṃhar is mentioned with Jayārjuna (as being at Kāthmāndu;) 54 *b*: सं ४८१ कार्त्तिका शुदि १० श्व कोञ्च श्रीजयार्जुनदेव स वो जयसिंहराम महाथ स वो अपनाइ या ङ ङ वो चाल्ल कंतिपुर [*sic*] दुम्बियादिन ॥ In N.S. 507 he joined Jayasthiti and his family at the yātrā at Bugama (63, *b*.). With *mahāth* Dr. Grierson compares the forms *mahathā*, *mahantha* 'great person.'

[2] Compare Cambridge Cat., p. ix., "Journey" pp., 15, 16, and Table. The verse written in Camb. MSS. Add. 1664, 2197 runs thus:—

भक्तापुरी नगर्यां च त्रयो राजा [*sic*] विराजते ।
धर्म श्रीतिश्च (जो॰ 2197) कीर्तिश्च ज्येष्ठ [*sic*] मध्यकनिष्ठके ॥

The opening of the inscription found by me in 1884, as described, but not published,—(for it is chiefly in Newari and much damaged in the lower part), runs thus (I print it with all its characteristic errors of spelling, etc.):—

संवत् ५१२ वैशाख कृष्ण दशम्यां तिथौ । रेवतिनक्षत्रे आयुष्मानयोगे बुधवसरे हूषराशि गते सवितरि मानरशिगते चन्द्रे ॥ जुवराजराज श्रीश्रीजयधर्म्ममल्लदेवस्य विजयराज्ये ॥ The inscription records the repair of a well connected with 'Māṇigalādhipa-Śrīdakṣiṇavihāra' and setting up of images.

(N. S. 540-547).[1] Early in the next year Yakṣamalla, the eldest son of Jayajyotih, as we find from the above-cited inscription, has succeeded to the throne; and dated MSS. are fairly plentiful for the long reign (43 years) assigned to him by the Vaṃśāvalī of Wright.

As to the history of this time some information is given by the interesting MS. described at pp. 107-9 of the present Catalogue. The author is king Jagajjyotimalla of Bhatgāon, sixth in succession after Yakṣa. According to this work Yakṣa 'went as far as Magadha, conquering Mithilā and set in order all Nepal, subduing the rājas of the mountains.' The triple division of the kingdom, already known to us, is then mentioned, including the assignment to the eldest son Rāyamalla of the country east of the Vāṅmatī (Bāgmatī) river with Bhatgāon as capital.

In Table II. I summarize the chronology of the reigns then ensuing.

Dated MSS. are not at first numerous; but for the Bhatgāon line the MS. of Cat., p. 107, just referred to, is valuable, especially as royal authorship is attributed to it. The joint-regency of Jita and Prāṇa given in the Table is stated in the Catalogue at p. 102 and confirmed by an inscription copied by me at Thāiba (*olim* Thasiba).[2] That the later king Trailokya should have been also known by the synonymous name Tribhurana seems at first sight improbable; but the inscription on which I base the statement was found by me at Thimi, which is east of the Bāgmatī and not far from Bhatgāon. After the beginning of the XVII century dates from coins become fairly plentiful, see the Table II in my "Journey."

For the line of Kāthmāndu, dated documents are at first still more scarce; but later on dates are quite numerous.

I have added in Table II appended to the present article a third column for the Banepa dynasty, because the first king at least was a real person and from the Cat. p. 115 seems to have been a literary man. In any case the separate dynasty of Banepa did not last much more than a century, as I find from copies of inscriptions recently received by me[3] from Panauti a place in the Banepa valley somewhat east of

[1] Cam. Add. 1649 a work on astrology attributed to the king himself and copied N.S. 532 makes a fourth if the retouched colophon (see my Cat. p. 155) be correct, as there seems little reason to doubt.

[2] In a part of the village called Antal tol and near a caitya. The village lies E. from Patan towards Harsiddhi and Bañregāon. The date runs thus: श्री श्री जितमल्ल प्रभु ठाकुरस्य श्री श्री प्राणमल्लदेवठाकुरस्य [य] दयो [र्] विजयाराजे [sic] वत् ९४४ नष्ट भाद्रपद.

[3] Through the kindness of Colonel Pears, the present Resident.

Banepa, that the kings of Bhatgāon, Jagatprakāśa and his success of Jitāmitra (1642–1689[1]) were acknowledged there.

II.—WESTERN NEPAL.

The town of Noakot or Nayakot (which I visited in my recent tour) seems to have been a kind of frontier between the valley of Nepal or Nepal proper and the Western districts. Wright's History (pp. 223-5) mentions the seizure of the place by a Gorkha sovereign previous to the general Gorkha Conquest.

The MS. in the Wright-collection numbered 1108 seems to have been written here. For नवकोट is doubtless (though the identification escaped me when I wrote my Cambridge Catalogue, p. 30) a Sanskritized form of the town's name. The date of the king (Ratnajyotiḥ) has been verified by Dr. Kielhorn and corresponds to January 14th, 1392.

During the following century no chronological data are forthcoming. I may note in passing that an educated Nepalese told me that inscribed stones, which he thought resembled those published by Paṇḍit Bhagvanlāl and myself, existed in the valleys of Western Nepal.

Dr. Wright published (History, Chapter XII) an account of the reigning (Gorkha) dynasty from Dravya Sāh (A. D. 1559) to the present time.

It is interesting to find in the present collection (pp. 242-4) a MS. giving confirmation of this record. It was composed by Rājendravikrama Sāh, who reigned 1816–1847. It might be worthwhile to publish extracts from this MS., when further confirmatory material (from old MSS. or inscriptions) comes to light. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that Wright's date, 1559, founded on a Vikrama-date, is curiously corroborated by a chronogram (*vidhu-vasu-nigama-glau*[2]), which gives the corresponding Śaka year (1481). At p. 213 of the Catalogue we find a MS. written during the reign of Varavīra Sāhī, in 1614, at Jaṭāpattana. This looks like Śaka 1614 (A.D. 1692), when Vīrabhadra Sāhi was alive, though, according to Wright, he was only *yuvarāj* and never *mahārāja*.[3]

1 For the latter date see Cat. p. 150. N.S. 810, Pauṣa. One of the new inscriptions is dated some six years later: 816, Jyeṣṭha.

2 Read thus p. 242 l. 25. I was much troubled by the reading ग्नौ *gnau*. But on referring to the MS., through the kind intermediary of the Resident, I found that the tracing read *glau*. This rare word has hitherto been found, in lexicons only, in the sense of 'moon' or 'earth' (=1).

3 Bhagvanlāl's Inscr. No. 18 fixes the date of another Gorkha sovereign in recording the defeat of Ḍambaraśāh by Pratāpamalla, N.S. 769 (A.D. 1649).

III.—TIRHUT.

There are few regions of India possessing an ancient civilization about which we have less definite historic information than the region north of the Ganges variously known as Videha, Tirabhukti, or (from its capital) Mithilā.

Neither the work of Prinsep, nor its excellent successor, that of Miss C. M. Duff, attempts a 'Dynastic list' for this country. Chronological indications are thus peculiarly valuable. There would seem to have been a certain degree of literary intercourse between Nepal and Tirhut, the frontier state on the direct route to the plains. Accordingly a large number of the MSS. in the present Catalogue are written by Tirhuti scribes in their characteristic (Maithili) script and dated mostly in the common era of the country, that of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

On pp. 131-2 we find a case where a MS. is by a Tirhuti scribe domiciled in Nepal. For it will be observed that not only are the writing and the era those of Mithilā, but the scribe goes out of his way to describe Lalita-pattan ('Patan'), where the MS. was copied, as 'situated in the kingdom of Nepal.'

A notice of far greater interest and importance is preserved through a case of intercourse in the opposite direction, where a Nepalese scribe was living in Tirhut. This is the case of the MS. of part of the Rāmāyaṇa, No. 1079, briefly noticed at p. 34 of the Catalogue. The colophon in question occurs at the end of the Kiṣkindyakāṇḍa at ff. 375-6. As it is not given in the Catalogue, I here transcribe it from my own notes: *Saṃvat* 1076 (१०७६) *āṣāḍha badi* 4 *mahārājādhirāja puṇyāvaloka-somavaṃśodbhava-gauḍadhvaja-śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadevabhujyamāna-Tīrabhaktau kalyāṇavijarājye Nepāladeśīya-śrī bhāñcu śālika-śrī Ānandasya pāṭakāvasthita* (kāyastha)[1] *paṇḍita śrī śrī Kurasyātmaja-śrī. Gopatināleikhīdaṃ.* Interpreting this according to the somewhat 'free-and-easy' Sanskrit used by scribes, I understand it to mean that in Saṃvat 1076 Gopati, son of Śrīkura, (Kāyastha) paṇḍit belonging to the country of Nepal and living in Ānanda's *pāṭaka*[2] belonging to Bhāñcu śāli (?), copied this during a victorious reign in Tirhut, when it was ruled by Gāṅgeyadeva, the great king, beholder of holiness, sprung from the lunar race and banner of Gauḍa. The writing of the MS. is the archaic 'Lantsa' of Nepal, so that we may quite well

[1] Added in a different hand.

[2] *Cf.* Ind. Ant. XVIII. 135, where *pāṭaka* is interpreted to mean the subdivision of a village; hence *bhāñcu śālika* may well contain the name of the larger village or district.

refer the Saṃvat to the Vikrama era. If this be granted, it must surely follow that we may identify the king with Gāṅgeya-deva, Kalacuri of Cedi, likewise of lunar lineage,[1] who was thus reigning in A.D. 1019, or some 11 years before Alberuni[2] mentions him as ruling in Dahāla, in 1030. Gāṅgeyadeva's influence has not been hitherto traced so far east as Tirhut; but it is noteworthy that his son also, Karṇadeva, claimed influence in Gauḍa,[3] still further east.

Nothing appears to be known of the rulers of Tirhut from this time to the 14th century, when the Ṭhākur dynasty appeared. A full genealogical table of this family was given by Dr. Grierson in Ind. Antiquary XIV, p. 196, and this was supplemented by him with further notes in the same journal in March 1899 (XXVIII, p. 57). Our Catalogue gives (p. 63) a date, L.S. 392,[4] for one of the later kings, Kaṃsanārāyaṇa, also called Lakṣmīnātha, which is the more acceptable as I have elsewhere shown,[5] that the native chronology for this dynasty is incorrect. In the same year, Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat 392, was copied the MS. described at Cat., p. 122, which gives a further confirmation of the succession of this dynasty, calling it the Śrotriya (brahmanical) vaṃśa. At p. 65 we meet with an interesting confirmation of the correctness of the details given in Dr. Grierson's table, as we there find a MS. by order of a non-reigning prince, *viz.*, Gadādharadeva[6] (*mahārajādhirājavara kumāra*) in L.S. 372 (A.D. 1490), a date which fits very well with that last mentioned.

If Rāmasiṃha, the king of Mithila mentioned at p. 23 med., be the same as Rāmabhadra, then the composition of Śrīkara's commentary on the Amarakośa there described falls at the end of the 15th century.

The prince Indusena, or Indrasena, the author of the work described at p. 265, would seem from his biruḍa Rupanārāyaṇa to have belonged to this family.

I subjoin a short table of this dynasty (Table III).

Gorakhpur-C(h)ampāran. In this region, that is, in the country south of Nepal on both sides of the Gaṇḍak, there reigned during the 15th century a dynasty, hitherto not noticed by European writers, but

[1] Ep. Ind. II. 9,11.

[2] India (tr.) I. 202; Gāṅgeya is also known from coins, some of them found as far north as Gorakhpur: Rapson, Indian Coins (*Grundriss*, II 3B), p. 33; V. A. Smith, J. A. S. B., LXVI. i. 306.

[3] Ind. Ant. XVIII. 217, moreover Karṇa's son made one expedition to Campārayṇa. Ep. Ind. *loc.cit.*

[4] 392 current. The date works out, as Dr. Kielhorn kindly informs me, to Wednesday 18th December, 1510.

[5] J. R.A. S. 1898, p. 233. Dr. Eggeling, Cat. I. O., p 875, seems to accept it somewhat too readily.

[6] Kumāra Gadādhara Siṃha in that table.

apparently connected with that last mentioned. Several of the rulers are mentioned in colophons of the present catalogue, and one of these must be in all probability identified with the issue of a series of coins, unpublished as yet and also undated, but apparently belonging to this century.

The first sovereign mentioned is Pṛthvīsiṃhadeva in whose reign in [Vikrama] Saṃvat 1492 (A.D. 1434-5) at *Campakāraṇyanagara* was copied MS. No. 1508 (ङ) at p. 61.

His successor was probably, as we shall presently see, Śaktisiṃha.

Of the next king, Madana or Madanasiṃhadeva, we have three mentions in these MSS. At p. 51.$_{1-3}$ we find him mentioned as reigning in Vikrama-Saṃvat 1511 (A.D. 1453-4) at Campakāraṇyanagara. His epithets are interesting. The first, *viprarāja*, seems to point to his belonging to the same *śrotriya vaṃśa* which reigned in (Eastern) Tirhut and so does the *biruda* ending in *nārāyaṇa* which all the members of that dynasty assumed. The pandit is uncertain about the reading *daityanārāyaṇa*, but I find from my own notes on the same MS. that I read the compound thus. I should propose to interpret it like *daityanisūdana* and *daityāri* (both epithets of Viṣṇu) by reference to the Vaiṣṇava faith of the king. This would accord well with the legend of a set of coins first identified by Dr. Hoey with this same region and at present in the British Museum. This legend is गोविन्द चरण प्रणव मदन and on the reverse श्री चम्पकारण्ये [1]. The lettering of the coins may well belong to the 15th century and I am glad to have the authority of my friend Mr. Rapson, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of the coins, that their general style and workmanship is referable to the same period.

At p. 29 (MS. 1001 ञ) we find another MS. of the same reign written at Gorakṣapura in L.S. 339 (1457 A.D.) It is interesting to note that the era used is that of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, as it confirms the accuracy of the Vikrama date, and also forms the first instance hitherto noted of the employment of the era west of the Gandak, *i.e.*, beyond the limits of Bengal. Lastly, Madana appears as a royal author giving his name to the Madana-ratnapradīpa (p. 223). This work is said in the colophon to have been composed (*viracita*) by the 'king Madanasiṃhadeva, who was the son of king Śaktisiṃha [see above], adorned with many *birudas*.' At the beginning of the text, however, the work is only said to be 'promulgated (*prakāśyate*) by Madana' and at the end we are told that he got the work done (*kārita* :—doubtless a common case with Indian royal authors!) by one Viśvanātha living at 'Kāśi-tīrtha,' probably Benares.

1. Does the prefix Śrī imply the abovementioned town of Campakāraṇya, rather than the mere region so-called?

TABLE I.

Kings of Nepal proper from the commencement of the era of Nepal to the Division of the Kingdom (A.D. 879—1474).

Abbreviations: 'V, V¹, V², V³,' represent the newly-discovered Vaṃśāvalī and its three divisions; 'Cat.' the catalogue of the Durbar Library by Pandit Haraprasād Śāstri; 'Camb. Cat.' my own catalogue of Buddhist Skt. MSS. at Cambridge. 'K' and 'H. J.,' after dates represent respectively the kind assistance of my friends, Proff. Kielhorn and Jacobi, in verification. MSS. marked* 'Camb. Or.' are those recently acquired by me in Nepal; expd.-expired (*gata*) year expressed in the Ms., [expd.] the same not expressed but calculated.

Dates in italic figures are derived from the chronicle (V.) only.

	Dates with months.		References to MSS., etc.	Reign acc. to V.	
	Nepal era, when not otherwise specified.	Equivalent A.D.			
Rāghavadeva	...	...	...	46, 6 mo.	Traditional founder of Nepal era (20th October, 879).
Jayadeva	...	...	...	10.	
Vikramadeva	...	...	...	8, 9 mo.	
Narendradeva	...	...	...	1, 6 mo.	
Guṇakāmadeva I.	...	...	...	65, 5 mo.	
Udayadeva	...	...	...	5, 5 mo.	
Nirbhaya Rudra	128, Phālguna	1008	Camb. Add. 866	Not named.	
Bhoja	...	...	...	,,	When* Camb. Add. 2191 was copied (date gone), Bhoja was ruling alone.
Rudra Lakṣmīkāmadeva I.	135, Caitra	1015	,, ,, 1643	,, ...	These joint regencies not referred to in V.
Lakṣmīkāmadeva I. (sole ruler.)	159, [expd.] Vaiś	1039	,, ,, 1683	21 ...	'Friday, 30th March 1039' (Kielhorn)[1].

[1] Communicated by letter. Dr. Kielhorn's previous working (I. Ant. XVII. 252) of the date as a current year rested on a misprint in the Nagari Text (not, however, in the Arabic numerals) of my Cambridge Cat., p. 172.

	Dates with months.		References to MSS., etc.	Reign acc. to V.	
	Nepal era, when not otherwise specified.	Equivalent A.D.			
Jaya ('Vijaya' V)	...	...	...	31 ...	Reigned over half the kingdom at Lalitāpur (V.[1])
Bhāskaradeva]	167 [current], Āśv.	1046, Sept.	Cat., p. 30	3 ...	'Wednesday, 24th September, 1046' (K)
Baladeva	180 Māgha	1059-60	„ 11	12 ...	Called 'Balavanta°' in V[1] and (wrongly) Bāladeva in my previous lists.
Pradyumna-kāmadeva.	185 Vaiś.	1064-5	Camb. Add. 1684	Name faded in V. 2.	
	186 Māgha	1065-6	„ „ 2197		Probably (1) Wed., 25 Jan. 1066 (K.).
Nāgārjuna	...	...	...		
Śaṅkaradeva	189, Āṣāḍha	1068-9	Cat., p. 92	15	This date is confirmed by my own note made from the MS. The Hodgson Collection of the Society. Cf. Rāj. Mitra, Aṣṭas. Pref. p. xxi., note, and Foucher, Iconographie. p. 27. J.A.S.B. lxii. i. 249. Vallée-Poussin, Bouddhisme p. 388. The date does not work out, as Dr. Jacobi informs me.
	191, Phālg exp.	1070-71	A.S.B. A 15		
	198 current, Śrāv.	1077	A.S.B. (coll. of 1893)		
Vāmadeva	200, Māgha	1080-81	Minaev-coll. St. Petersburg	3	A copied date of somewhat uncertain interpretation, J. R. A. S., 1891, p. 687.
Harṣadeva	210 [expd.] Jyeṣṭha	1090, May	Kāthmāṇḍu No. 1002.	14 years (about 1084-1098)	'Friday, 10th May, 1090' (K). The date is omitted in the Cat., p. 30; but was verified by myself.
	213 expd. Caitra	1093	Camb. Add. 2197		
	219 current	*1098*	V[1] fol. 24 a ...		Wording of date quoted above.
Śivadeva (2)	*239* Vaiśākha	*1118*	V[1]; see plate fig. 4.	27, 5 mo. (about 1098-1125)	See above, pp. 6-7.
	240, prathama-Āṣāḍha.	1120	India-office, Hodgson, 73 A.		
	243 Jyeṣṭha	1123	Camb. Or 142 ...		

Indradeva (5)	249, Phālguna	1128-9	Ind. Off. 2928. ...	12	Omitted by Wright and Bhagvanlāl, though mentioned by Kirkpatrick.
Mānadeva	259, expd., Kārtt.	1138, Oct.	Camb., Add. 1643	4, 7 mo.	'Monday, 10th October, 1138' (Jacobi).
	259, Bhādrap	1139	Inscription 'Journey,' p. 81.		
Narendradeva (called Narasiṃha in Wr. and Bh.-lāl)	254 expd., Phālg.	1134	Cat. p. 62 ...	...	As to this date, see the foregoing article, page 1, note 5.
	261 Pauṣa	1141	Paris, Burn. 104		
Ānandadeva (4)	*267* Māgha	*1146-7*	V[1], foll. 24-25a	...	V[1] f. 24b, Plate fig. 4, 5. I have supposed this date to refer to the accession of Ānanda, though the passage is obscure.
	275 Caitra	1154-5	Camb. Or. 130	20 about 1147-67).	
	278 Bhādrap.	1158	Camb. Add. 2833		See J.R.A.S. for 1888, p. 551.
	284 Māgha	1163-4	MS. seen at Bhatgāon ...		Not purchased; full date transcribed: 284 Māgha śukla aṣṭamī ādityavāra.
	285 expd Phālguna.	1165, Feb. March.	Camb. Add. 2190		Colophon copied (with mistakes) in Rāj Mitra's Aṣṭas. Pref. p. xxiv, note.
	285 [expd.] Srāvaṇa.	1165, July	Camb. Add. 1693		'Sunday, 8th July, 1165,' Kielhorn, Ind. Ant. XVII, 249.
	286 Phālguna	1166	London, R.A.S. Hodgson[2]		Full date (not given in R.A.S. Cat.): 286, Phālguna sudi ekādaśyāṃ ādityav.
Rudradeva	...	...	...	8, 1 mo. ...	
Amṛtadeva (5)	296 Caitra	1176,	Cat., p. 65 ...	3, 11 mo. ...	Imperfect reading in Cat. supplemented by a tracing from the MS. See the article p. 7, note 7.

[1] The date reads 186 *māghakṛṣṇa divā daśamyā buddha* [*sic*] *dine*. I suggested to Dr. Kielhorn (and he agrees), that *divādaś*° probably stands for *dvādaśamyāṃ tithau* which gives 186 as an *expired* year (the usual solution for this era.) If however we interpret the date as meaning "on the tenth day," we have to take the rare solution (I. Ant. XVII. 252) of a *current* year, with the result (as Dr. Kielhorn informs me) Wednesday, 2nd February, 1065.

[2] Son of Saṅkaradeva, born Saṃvat 177, Āṣāḍha. V[2] foll. 30*b*—31*a*.

[3] No doubt identical with Mahendradeva the *yuvarāj* (जोराज) in Śivadeva's reign after whom the tank Mahendrasaras was named. V[1]fol. 24*b*. See plate, fig. 4. The same Mahendra's birth is recorded in V[2] as happening is saṃ. 199 (fol. 31*a*, where *Śihadevaparameśvarasya putra* is apparently an error for *Śivad*°) See Plate, fig. 9. 1. 3.

[4] Son of a 'Sihadeva' (possibly here Narasiṃha or Narendra) born in 219 Vaiśākha. V[2] f. 31*b*.

[5] According to V[2] (f. 31*b*), born in 233, Āśvina and likewise a son of "Sihadeva."

	Dates with months.		References to MSS., etc.	Reign acc. to V.	
	Nepal era, when not otherwise specified.	Equivalent A.D.			
[Ratnadeva]	303 Caitra.	[1183 ?] if Nepal era	Tracing from MS. in Kathm. Library.	Not mentioned in any History.	Full date, from tracing (colophon being omitted at p. 86 of Cat.) of MS. 1648G. at Kāthm Library: Samv. 303 [words and figures] caitra sudi pañcamyāṃ somadine. As to the king see the article.
Someśvaradeva (1)	...	...		4, 3 mo.	
Guṇakāmadeva II.	307 Phālguna	1187	Cat., p. 76 ...	3	Reading of Cat. verified by tracing from MS.
Lakṣmīkāmadeva II.	313 dvir-Āsāḍha	1193	Br. Museum, Or. 2279 (No. 550 in my Cat.)	Not mentioned.	Date retouched. 'It does not work out' (H. J.)
Vijayakāmadeva	316 „	1196, July	Br. Museum Or. 3345 (No. 542 my Cat.)	17 ...	Probably Thursday, 11th July 1196. See note in B.M. Cat. Sk. MSS. p. 230.
	317 Vaiś	1197	Cat. p., 113 ...		
Arimalladeva (2)	322 [expd.] Āṣāḍha	1201 May	Cat. p., 83. ..	15 ... (about 1201-1216) ...	Reading confirmed by my notes in the Library. 'Sunday, 27th May, 1201 (H.J.)
	326 expd. Srāv.	1206, July-Aug.	Cat. p. 96 ... Camb. Add. 1648 ...		'Thursday, 14th Jan., 1216,' Kielhorn in I.A. xvii, 249.
	336 [expd.] Pauṣa	1216, Jan.			
[Raṇaśūra]	342 Mārga	1221	B.M. Or. 2208 (No. 512 in my Cat.)	Not named	Perhaps a rāja of another part of Nepal.
	344,	1223 ...	Kāthm. No. 214		Date (without month) noted by me in 1884. The Pandit apparently did not see this MS., a copy of the Bhāratīya-nāṭyaśāstra. Compare Sylvain Lévi "Rapport," p. 16.
	358, Jyeṣṭha	1238 ...	Cat. p. 69 ...		
	367, current, Māgha.	1246 Jan. Feb.	B.M. Or. 2203 (my Cat. No. 536)		Date somewhat indistinctly written.

J. 1. 4

Abhayamalla	367, Phālguna	1247, Feb.	Kāṭhm. new cat. No. 11	42, 6 mo.	MS. (Pañca-rakṣā) not described by Pandit. Full date from my notes: 367 Phālguna Śukla ekadaśī ādityav. Sunday, 17th Feb., 1247. (H.J.)
	[373 Marga]	[1252] ..	St. Pet. Minaev Colln.		See J.R.A.S., 9191, p. 688. A copied date and doubtless copied wrong; for Dr. Jacobi reports that the week-day works out wrong and nakṣatra impossible.
Jayadeva	*375* Āśādha	*1255*, June	Vl, fol. 26a	2, 8 mo. ...	'Monday, June 7th, 1255' (K), when Punarvasu was the Nakṣatra; see the article, p. 8, note 4.
	377, Bhādrap.	1257 ...	Coll. of Bhagvānlal 1884		See the same note.
Jayabhīmadeva ...	380, expd. Caitra	1260 April...	Tracing from MS. 1320D. at Kāthmāndu	13, 3 mo. ...	'Wednesday, April 2nd, 1260' (Sewell); see p. 9, note 1.
Jayaśāha (siha) malladeva	...	...	...	2, 7 mo. ...	The second form is taken from V[2] fol. 35, where the birth of Jayaśiham. is recorded (349, Vaiś.; father: Jagatanekamalla) just before that of Anantamalla.
	399, Phālguna ...	1279 ...	Cat. p. 46 (अ)		Tracing from MS. confirms reading of Cat., but no week-day is decipherable.
Anantamalla [3] ...	400, „ ...	1280 ...	Tracing correcting Cat., p. 44		In the Cat. we must read, as my tracing shows, Ananta for Ānanda; but Dr. Kielhorn reports that the date does not work out correctly.

[1] Though no MSS. of this reign are extant, Someśvara is duly recorded by Kirkpatrick, (reign 6 years 3 months) and in V[2] (fol. 32a), where we learn that he was the son of Mahendra and born in 240 Phalguna sudi 13, Māghanakṣatra. If the following phrase राजा अस्य वर्ष ५३ means that he reigned and died in (240 + 53) 293, it will not fit well with the ascertained date of Amṛtadeva.

[2] According to V[2], fol. 32b, Arimalla, son of Jayaśi [sic], Malladeva, was born 274, reigned 15 years (according to V[1] 25 years 10 months; but this does not suit with the other dates) and lived 62 years 10 months. This puts his death towards the end of 336, which our last date from MSS. will just allow.

[3] Born 366, son of Rājadeva. He was apparently childless. For at 26b (Plate: fig. 7. l. 1) we read that in his reign the Yuvarāj (जोराज the usual form in the Chronicle) Jayādityadeva imprisoned his uterine brother, Jayānandadeva. Now a Jayāditya, according to V[3] (35b), was the son of Jayabhīma, and was born 358. Probably there is something wrong in this last

	Dates with months.		References to MSS., etc.	Reign acc. to V.	
	Nepal era, when not otherwise specified.	Equivalent A.D.			
Anantamalla ... [*continued.*]	403, Āṣāḍha ...	1283 ...	Cat. p. 46 (च)	32, 10 mo. V^1	
	405, Vaiśākha ...	1285 ...	Tracing, revising Cat. p. 46 (ज)	35,11 mo. V^2	405 or possibly 401; week-day not given.
	406, Caitra ...	1286 ...	B.M. Or 1439 (Cat. No 440.)		
	408, or Sambat 1344	*1287* ...	Kirkp. p. 264.		The first recorded double date (in two eras).
	417, [expd]. Āṣāḍha. ...	*1297* June..	V^1 fol. 27*a*; V^2 „ 40*b*		Wednesday, 26th June, 1297 (K). Date of a donation to Paśupati-shrine of a banner, etc., by Ananta.
	422 Vaiśākha ...	1302 ...	Camb. Add. 1306.		
	427 Śrāvaṇa ...	*1307* ...	V^3 fol. 42 ...		Date of a donation (?) to Paśupati.
Jayānandadeva	438 Phālguna ... badi 15, śukre	1318, March	Cat., p. 73 and my notes	Duration not stated ...	From my notes I see that the MS. was copied at Māṇigala-vihāra (in Patan, *cf.* Cat., p 88). The date works out to Friday, 13th Mar. 1318 (H.J).
Jayarudramalla[1] and Jayārimalla (co-regent)	*440* Caitra ...	*1320* ...	V^3 44*a* (*cf.* 27*b*.)	...	Date of coronation of Jayārimalla (puṣyābhiṣekha).
	446 Āṣāḍha ...	*1326* ...	V^1 27*b* ... V^3, 46*b* ...	... ...	See note 1, below.
Invasion of Nepal by Ādit[y]a-mal[l]a. Dissensions until accession of	*448* Caitra ...	*1328* ...	V^1 27 *b* ...	...	

Jayarājadeva[3] ...	467 Śrāvaṇa ...	*1347* ...	V[1] 28*b* Plate fig. 8 ...	"Accession with assent of both royal families and with general consent" (V[1] 28 *b*.; Plate fig. 8, line 1).
	474 ...	1353-4 ...	Cat. p. 71 ...	Year (no month) verified by tracing from MS.
	476 ...	1355-6 ...	As Soc. Beng. (Coll. of 1893) ...	See J.A.S.B., LXII. i., 250. MS. omitted in Kuñjavihārī's Cat. Correct king's name (Vijayarājadeva) to Jayar° (tracing).
Jayārjunamalla(?) ...	484 Kārttika ...	1363, Oct. ...	Cat, p. 31	Date verified in my notes. 'Monday, 23rd October, 1363; nakṣatra etc. correct' (H. J.)
	491 Bhādrap. ...	1371 ..	Cat. p. 88 ...	
	493 Pauṣa ...	1372 ...	Camb. Add. 2564.	Peterson, Hitopadeśa, Pref., p. ii.
	494 Bhādrap. ...	1374 ...	Camb. Add. 1689 ...	
	Śaka 1297, Phālg.	1376 Febr.	Cat., p. 121	Earliest MS. dated by a non-Nepalese era. Date: Friday, 22nd Feb. 1376 (H. J.)

NEW DYNASTY FOLLOWS.

statement. For it seems unlikely that Anantamalla should not only have superseded an older heir-apparent, but also have allowed him to live on as heir-apparent to himself. Moreover, in V[3] (36*b*) we find mention of Jayabhima as rāja in 378 and Jayasiṃhamalladeva (who seems to have actually succeeded him, according to V[1] 26*a*) as *yuvarāj*. This seems very strange if Jayāditya was alive all the time. The statement of Wright may be correct in so far as it implies a divided kingdom in Ananta's time.

[1] Jayarudra was the son of Jayatuṅgamalla. Jayāri is called *svakuṭumba*, a vague phrase for 'kinsman' perhaps. The full date of his death (or of the suttee of his wives—the punctuation would allow of either interpretation) is 446, Āsāḍha pūrṇamī, V[3] at 46*b* gives the same date, for the death (भङ perhaps 'time up to which he *remained* in the world,' a common expression in the chronicle), not mentioning the suttee; but it makes two suspicious additions: (1) The addition of 'prathama' to the month, though Āsāḍha was *not* intercalated; (2), the impossible allowance of 30 years 8 months to the king's reign.

[2] Born 437, *Phālguna kṛṣṇa daśami dhaneṣṭa* [*sic*], *bṛhaspati vāra*; son of Jayānandadeva by a *saṅgrahaṇī bhāryā* (V[3], 45*b*). The tracing referred to in the last column was kindly sent me by Mahām. Haraprasād Śāstri.

[3] Son of Jayarājadeva and Rudramadevī, apparently (see p. 11, note) born in 467, Vaiś sudi 7. (V[1], f. 28*b*; Plate fig. 8.) According to V[3] (60*b*) he died in 502, Māgha badi 5. This may well be correct; for the date 504 given doubtfully in my Cambridge Cat., p. 119, is much too uncertain to form a contrary argument. On re-examination I find the middle word looks more like *cihna* (not known as a numeral word) than *bindu*. On the other hand, *viṣaya* = 5 is certain; so that Jayārjuna was alive in 500 or A.D. 1379-80.

	Dates with months.		Reference to MSS., etc.	Reign acc. to V.	
	Nepal era, when not otherwise specified.	Equivalent A.D.			
New Dynasty					
	500 Phālguna ...	1380 ...	Cat., p. 43	Vends here.	Chronogram and figures; MS. written at Bhatgāon. Jayata was the *mantrin*.
Jayasthitimalla ...	Six other dates between this and	...	...	...	See Cat., pp. 43, 84. Tables in Camb. Cat. and "Journey" also inscription in "Journey" (date verified I. A. XVII, 249.)
	514, dvir-Āṣā (?)	1394 ...	Cat. p. 87 ...	...	दुराषाढे, , if meant for Aṣāḍha intercalated, is incorrect by the Tables of Sewell.
Jayasimharāma ...	516 ...	1395-6 ...	Tracing, revising Cat., p. 31	...	In the Cat. read ५१६, as my tracing shows. No month is legible.
Joint regency of Jayasthiti's three sons ...	519 Kārttika ...	1398 ...	Camb. Add. 2834		
	520 Āśvina ...	1400 ...	" " 1664		J. R. A. S. for 1898, p. 551.
Regency of Jayadharmamalla (alone), as 'yuvarāj'	523 Vaiśākha ...	1403 ...	Inscription ...	...	See the article, p. 15, and note.
	532 Mārgaś. ...	1411 ...	Camb. Add. 1649.	...	A retouched colophon: see Camb. Cat., p. 155.
	533 expd., Māgha	1413, Jan.	Inscr. ...	...	15th Jan., 1413. Verified I. A. XVII, 247.
Jayajyotirmalla (1) ...	540 Bhādrap. ...	1420 ...	Camb. Or. 148...	...	
	541 Bhādrap. ...	1421 ...	Cat. p. 36 ...	...	Verified by my own notes both in 1884 and 1899.
	547 (no month) ...	1426-7 ...	St Petersb. (Minaev)	...	See J. R. A. S., 1891, p. 688.

Yakṣa-malla ...	Śaka 1350 Mārgaś	1428-9 (Nov. Dec.)	Cat., p. 23	...	Month supplied from my notes on the MS.
	Four other dates (549-590)	...	...	...	See Cambr. Cat., p. 197 (correcting ४४७ to ४४८) and Table; also the present Cat., p. 36.
	591 Caitra ...	1471 ...	India Office ... Hodgson 2743	...	
	594 Jyeṣṭha ...	1474	Cat., p. 75, and my notes.	...	The full date (from my notes) completes the śloka thus (though badly):— संवत् वेदपरवाणे ज्येष्ठशुक्ल त्रयोदशि ॥

(For the divided kingdom see next Table.)

[1] Born N. S. 493 V^{s} (55b).

TABLE II.

Divided Kingdom of Nepal (1496 to beginning of XVIIth cent.)

Yakṣamalla (reigning in 594 Jyeṣṭha = A.D. 1474.)

Line of Bhatgāon (*cf.* Cat., pp. 107-9.)	Line of Kathmandu.	Line of Banepa. (cf. Supra, p. 16 *fin.*)
A.D.		
1495-6 (Jaya-) Rāya-malla N.S. 616 Chronogram in Cat. p. 16.	Ratna	Jayaraṇa-malla Bh.lāl in I. Ant. XIII. 414 *fin. cf.* Cat. pp. 115, 19. Wife: Nāthalladevi. Son: Vijayamalla.
Bhuvana-malla.	Amara	
1524-33 Jita-malla and Prāṇa-malla (joint regency) N.S. 644, Bhadrapāda N.S. 654 Kārttika, Cat. p. 103.	Sūrya	
Prāṇamalla (sole king).	A.D. 1551 Narendra, (Camb. Or. 135. N.S. 671, Srāvaṇa.)	
Viśvamalla.	1566 Jaya-Mahendra (same MS.) 686, Srāvaṇa.	
Trailokya° or Tribhuvanamalla, (see p. 16.)		
1572—1585-6 (Inscr.)	1575-6 Sadāśiva. N.S. 696. (See Table II in 'Journey.')	
1617—1633 Jagajjyotirmalla { See Cat., pp. 109, 16 (Saka 1550.)	1600 Śivadeva. (Inscr. cited in 'Journey' Table II.)	
	Haribara. (Subdivision of this kingdom followed).	

For the remaining Kings of Nepal (with dates from coins), see 'Journey in Nepal,' Table II, and Cambridge Cat., p. 16.

TABLE III.

Reigning Kings of Tirhut, Eastern and Western.

EASTERN TIRHUT.

Compiled from Vardhamāna's Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka (Br. Mus.; Or. 3567a), called 'G' below, and Vācaspati's Mahādāna-nirṇaya ('M.'; Cat., p. 122.)

1. Kāmeśa G.
[2. Bhogeśvara elder son of 1. Mentioned in vernacular records only.]
3. Bhaveśa M, [younger] son of 1. G.
4. (1) Harasiṃhadeva, son of 3, M.G.
5. Narasiṃha (M), Nṛsiṃha (G) called Darpanārāyaṇa, son of 4 (M.G).
6. (2) Bhairavendra M. Bhairavasiṃha called Harinārāyaṇa G.

This reign commenced not later than A.D. 1496, when the MS. G. was copied.

7. Rāmabhadra G called Rūpanārāyaṇa G.
8. Lakṣmīnātha called Kaṃsanārāyaṇa, reigning in December 1510. (Cat., p. 63, date verified by Dr. Kielhorn.)

Dynasty of Gorakhpur-Camparan (Western Tirhut).

1. Pṛthvī-siṃhadeva, A.D. 1434-35.
2. Śaktisiṃha.
3. Madana (Siṃhadeva) { 1453-54. / 1457-58.

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1 According to several works of Vidyāpati, cited by Eggeling, Cat. I. O., p. 875-6 (see also Grierson, Ind. Ant., Mar. 1899, p. 57.) Bhaveśa was succeeded by his elder son, Devasiṃha, and he by his son, Śivasiṃha. It is significant that not only Vardhamāna and Vācaspati pass over these kings in silence, but Vidyāpati himself does so in Narasiṃha's reign (Raj. Mitra Notices vi. 68). They were perhaps not generally acknowledged.

2 Vidyāpati (Eggeling l. c.) and the Chronicle admit the previous reign of an elder brother, Dhīrasiṃha, called Hṛdayanārāyaṇa.

TABLE IV.

AN UNKNOWN DYNASTY (Cat., pp. 153-54).

(*From the Acāradīpaka of Gaṅgāviṣṇu.*)

Mukunda.

|

Bhṛṅgi.

|

Hambīra. King of Triśṛṅgadeśa.

|

Pratāpa.

|

Dāmodara called Digvijaya.

|

Kāmarājadatta.

|

Trivikrama (patron of the book).

The Later Mughals (1707–1803).—*By* William Irvine, *Bengal Civil Service.* (Retired).

In continuation of the articles in Part I of the *Journal* for 1896, Vol. LXV, pp. 136–212, and 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 141–66.

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Section 12. The State of Parties at Court.

The names, Mughal, Turāni, and Irāni, appear so frequently in our narrative, and so much turns upon the relation to each other of the various groups into which the army and officials were divided, that a few words of explanation will be necessary for a clear understanding of what follows. Ever since the Mahomedan conquest of India, adventurers from the countries to the west and north-west flocked into it as to a Promised Land, a land flowing with milk and honey. The establishment of a dynasty, of which the founder, Bābar, was a native of Trans-Oxiana, gave a further stimulus to this exodus into India, where fighting men from the fatherland of the imperial house were always welcome. They formed the backbone of the army of occupation. Their

numbers were increased still further during the twenty-five years or more, from 1680 to 1707, during which 'Ālamgīr waged incessant war in the Dakhin, first with the local Mahomedan states and then with the Mahrattahs.

These foreigners, at least the greater number of them, were either Afghāns or Mughals; if the latter, they were known as either Turānī or Irānī Mughals. In using this term Mughal, I vouch in no way for its accurate application, ethnographically or otherwise. It must be understood to be an unquestioning acceptance of the term as employed by Indian writers of the period. Every man from beyond the Oxus or from any of the provinces of the Persian kingdom was to them a Mughal. If his home was in Turān, north of the Oxus, he was a Turānī; if south of it, in the region of Irān, he was an Irānī Mughhal. The Turānīs were of the Sunni sect, the prevalent belief of Mahomedan India, and came from the old home of the reigning dynasty. For these reasons, they were highly favoured by the Indian emperors, and owing to their great numbers and the ability, military and civil, of their leaders, formed a very powerful body both in the army and the state generally. The Irānīs were Shi'ās and were not so numerous as the Turānīs; yet they included among them men of good birth and great ability, who attained to the highest positions, many of the chief posts in the State having been filled by them. Shīrāz, in the Persian province of Fārs, furnished much the largest number of these Persians; most of the best physicians, poets, and men learned in the law came from that town. Owing to the difference of religion, principally, there was a strong feeling of animosity, ever ready to spring into active operation, between the Turānīs and the Irānīs; but as against the Hindūstānīs the two sections were always ready to combine.

Men from the region between the Indus on the east, and Kābul and Qandahār on the west, were called Afghāns. Those from the nearer hills, south-west of Peshāwar, are sometimes distinguished by the epithet *Rohelah*, or Hill-man. But Indian writers of the eighteenth century never use the word Pathān, nor in their writings is there anything to bear out the theory that the Afghān and the Pathān are two different races.[1] The part of the Afghān country lying nearest the Indus furnished the majority of the Afghān soldiers who resorted to India; and, as might be expected from their comparative nearness to India, they probably outnumbered the Mughals. In any case, they seem to have had a talent for forming permanent settlements in India, which neither the Mughal nor the Persian has displayed. All over Northern India, Pathān villages are numerous to this day. As instances, Qasūr near

[1] H. W. Bellew, Inquiry (1891), p. 206.

Lāhor, numerous villages between Dihlī and Ambālah, the town of Jalālābād, the city of Farrukhābād, and other places in the Jamnah—Ganges *Dūābah*, also many villages and towns in Rohilkhand, come to mind at once. But the Afghāns, in spite of their numbers and their hold on the land, hardly played any part in the political history of the day until 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, Dāūdzaī, established himself as a ruler in Barelī and Ānwalah, and Muḥammad Khān, Bangash did the same in Farrukhābād. But, after the fifteen years' rule of Sher Shāh and his successors (1540–1555), the Afghāns were much prized as valiant soldiers. Their weakness was too great love of money, and too great a readiness to desert one employer for another, if he made a higher bid. They were too rough and illiterate to obtain much distinction in civil life. It is said that during Shāhjahān's reign (1627–1658), Afghāns were discouraged and employed as seldom as possible. It was not until 'Ālamgīr began his campaign in the Dakhin (1681–1707) that they again found favour, those nobles who had Afghān soldiers receiving the most consideration.[1]

Other foreigners, serving in small numbers in the Mughal service, were the Arabs, Ḥabshīs, Rūmīs, and Farangīs. As soldiers these men were found almost entirely in the artillery. Arabs were, of course, from Arabia itself; Ḥabshīs[2] came from Africa, mostly negroes; Rūmīs were Mahomedans from Constantinople or elsewhere in the Turkish empire; Farangī, that is Frank, was the name of any European. Eunuchs were generally of Ḥabshī race, and the chief police officer of Dihlī was frequently a Ḥabshī. There were some Frank, or Farangī, physicians; one of the name of Martin, or Martin Khān, probably a Frenchman, died at Dihlī about the middle of the eighteenth century, after living there for many years.

In opposition to the Mughal or foreign, was the home-born or Hindūstānī party. It was made up of Mahomedans born in India, many of them descended in the second or third generation from foreign immigrants. Men like the Sayyads of Bārhah, for instance, whose ancestors had settled in India many generations before, came, of course, under the description of Hindūstānī or *Hindūstān-zā* (Indian-born). To this class also belonged all the Rājpūt and Jāt chiefs, and other powerful Hindū landowners. Naturally, too, the very numerous and industrious body of Hindūs, who filled all the subordinate offices of a civil nature, attached themselves to the same side. Panjāb Khatrīs were very numerous in this official class; most of the rest were Āgarwāl

1 Bhīm Sen, 173*b*.

2 Habsh is the name for Abyssinia, but the name Ḥabshī was used in a more general sense for all Africans.

Baniyās or Kāyaths. It also comprised many Mahomedans from Kashmīr, who seem to have rivalled the Hindūs as secretaries and men of business.

Nor, in speaking of the Indian-born party, must we forget the subdivision among them due to the repugnance, even to this day so strongly shown, of Western Hindūstānīs or Panjābīs to men from Eastern Hindūstān or Bengal. Crowds of men from Bengal had followed in Farrukhsīyar's train. Khūshḥāl Cand, in an amusing outburst, declares that "God created the Pūrbiyah (man from the East) without shame, without faith, without kindness, without heart, malevolent, niggardly, beggarly, cruel; ready to sell his children in the *bāzār* on the smallest provocation; but to spend a penny, he thinks that a crime equal to matricide." When they entered the imperial service, they required a signet-ring, but many tried to talk over the seal-cutters and get these for nothing. He admits that there were a few notable exceptions, but then as the saying is, "Neither is every woman a woman, nor every man, a man; God has not made all five fingers the same." [1]

A cross-division, to which we must draw attention, as it is a most important one, was that into Emperor's friends and Wazīr's friends. In the reign of Farrukhsīyar this was the most decisive of all distinctions. From almost the first day of the reign till the very last, we shall find the whole situation to turn upon it. A small number of private favourites, such as Mīr Jumlah, Khān Daurān, and at a later stage, I'tiqād Khān (Mḥd. Murād), formed a centre to which the other great nobles, each in turn, rallied, only to retire in disgust after a short experience of Farrukhsīyar's shiftiness and want of resolution.

[1] Khūshḥāl Cand, 406.

Nah har zan, zan ast, o nah har mard, mard;
Khudā har panj angusht yaksān na kard.

On the above incident someone composed the lines—

Shakhṣe ba dūkān-i-saja' kan-i-dast tahī
Mīguft kih: "Āe! dalīl na būd o nahī!
'Khān' kandah ba-dah, muft, ba ism-am. Gufta:
'Jān' kandan bih, kaz īn khijālat ba-rahī."

A man at the shop of a needy motto-cutter,
Said; "Here, neither argument nor denial,
"Cut Khān to my name for nothing." He replied;
"To cut *Jān* is better, and give up such shabby tricks."

The play is upon "*Jān kandan*," To engrave the word جان, *Jān*, instead of خان, *Khān*, also meaning "to give up the ghost."

Section 13. Severities Inflicted at the Instigation of Mīr Jumlah (March 1713–April 1714).

The opening of the reign was marked by many executions and other severities to men belonging to the defeated party, and such terror of strangulation spread among the nobles who had held office during the reigns of 'Ālamgīr and Bahādur Shāh, that every time they started for the audience, they took a formal farewell of their wives and children. The whole of these severities are attributed, and apparently with truth, to the influence of Mīr Jumlah.[1] Although it involves a slight break in the chronological order, these events will be grouped together.

The first of these executions took place by Farrukhsīyar's orders during the night of the 2nd Rabī' I. 1125 H. (28th March, 1713). Sa'dullah Khān, son of 'Ināyat-ullah Khān, Kashmīrī, Hidāyat Kesh Khān, a Hindū convert, who had been central newswriter (*Waqā'i-nigār-i-kull*)[2] and Sīdī Qāsim, Ḥabshī, late Kotwāl or Police officer of Dihlī, were the victims. They were strangled by the Qalmāq Slaves (Sa'dullah Khān struggling with them till he was overpowered), and their bodies were exposed for three days on the sandy space below the citadel. It is difficult to decide what Sa'dullah Khān's crime had been. In the last year of Bahādur Shāh's reign he was deputy wazīr with the title of Wazārat Khān, and his temporary adhesion to Jahāndār Shāh was no worse crime in him than in many others who were pardoned. At first, Farrukhsīyar had received him with favour. But on the 21st Muḥarram 1125 H. (16th February, 1713), immediately after the Emperor had visited Pādshāh Begam, the sister of 'Ālamgīr, Sa'dullah Khān was sent to prison and his property confiscated. As to the reason for his disgrace, there are two versions, with both of which the name of Pādshāh Begam is mixed up. As told by Khāfī Khān, it would appear that a forged letter had been sent to Farrukhsīyar in the name of Pādshāh Begam asking for the removal of Sa'dullah Khān. The Begam is represented as having repudiated this letter, when Farrukhsīyar visited her *after* the execution of Sa'dullah Khān. But the only visit that is recorded took place a month *before* his execution.

The other version is that Farrukhsīyar had consulted Pādshāh Begam as to his conduct towards Asad Khan and Ẓū'lfiqār Khān. She wrote a reply counselling him not to deal severely with them, but to admit them to favour and maintain them in office. She made over the letter to

[1] Khāfī Khān, II., 732. Yaḥyā Khān, 121b, puts all these executions to the account of the two Sayyads. The *Aḥwāl-i-Khawāqīn*, 62a, names one 'Ashūr Khān as head of the executioners.

[2] His original name was Bholā Nāth, and he succeeded to the office on his father, Chatar Mall's, death in 1109 H., *Ma,āgir-i-'A*, 396.

Sa'dullah Khān, who was her Mīr-i-Sāmān, or steward. As he was strongly opposed to Żū'lfiqār Khān, owing to the quarrel about the appointment of a successor to Mun'im Khān, Bahādur Shāh's wazīr, and also hoped that a rival's removal would increase his own chance of becoming *wazīr* he extracted the real letter and substituted one of an entirely contrary effect, or, as one version says, altered the words "should not kill" (*na bāyad kusht*) into "should kill" (*bāyad kusht*). Pādshāh Begam reproached Farrukhsīyar for having taken Żū,lfiqār Khān's life. The Emperor pulled her letter out of his pocket and the substitution of the forged letter was thus discovered. Sa'dullah Khān was immediately arrested. This second story certainly appears the more probable of the two.[1]

Hidāyat Kesh Khān's crime was that he had denounced to Jahāndār Shāh the hiding-place of Muḥammad Karīm, the new Emperor's brother, and thus indirectly led to that prince's life being taken. Some say that, in addition, he behaved in a harsh and insolent manner to him when he was made prisoner. No one knows what Sīdī Qāsim had done to deserve death, unless it be attributed to private revenge. As *faujdār* of some of the parganahs near Dihlī he had executed the son of a tradesman named Udhū. This man, thirsting for the *kotwāl's* blood, levied a contribution of ten or twelve rupees on each shop in the quarters of Shāhganj and Shāhdarah. Having collected a very large sum, he paid it over to Mīr Jumlah, and secured in exchange the arrest and execution of Sīdī Qāsim.[2]

The next cruelty was done on Sabhā Cand, the Hindū confidant of the late Żū,lfiqār Khān. On the 11th Jamādī II, 1125 H. (4th July 1713), he was made over to Mīr Jumlah. The next day it was intimated to the Emperor that Sabhā Cand's tongue had been cut out, as a punishment for the foul language that he had constantly used. The strange thing was that after this deprivation he was still able to talk and make himself understood.[3]

After Sabhā Cand, came the turn of Shāh Qudratullah of Allahābād. His father, Shekh 'Abd-ul-Jalīl, was a man of learning of the Ṣūfī sect, who lived in Allahābād. On his death, Qudratullah succeeded to his influence and position, being himself a man of learning and considerable eloquence. Prince 'Aẓīm-ush-shān chanced to make Qudrat-

[1] *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī*, p. 155, Khūshḥāl Cand 397*b*. There is a separate biography in M-ul-U II., 504. Sa'dullah Khān was the second son of 'Ināyatullah Khān, Kashmīrī. It is said in the *Makhzanu-l-gharāib* that he wrote under the name of Hidāyat. (Ethé, Bodleian Catalogue, No. 395).

[2] Khūshḥāl Cand, 398*a*, Kāmwar Khān, 134, Khāfī Khān II., 735.

[3] Khāfī Khān II., 735.

ullah's acquaintance, and took such a fancy to him that he could not bear him to be away from his side. Wherever the prince went, the Shekh accompanied him; and in the end, the Shekh became all-powerful. In the last years of Bahādur Shāh's reign all business passed through his second son's hands, and Qudratullah was that prince's right hand. It was as if the whole empire had fallen under his rule, even the wazīr and his sons asking him to plead for them. The refusal to appoint Ẓū,lfiqār Khān to succeed Mun'im Khān and the appointment instead of a deputy, Hidāyatullah Khan (Sa'dullah Khān), were due to Shekh Qudratullah, although he had no official rank whatever. In the struggle for the throne his advice prevailed over that of all others. After 'Aẓim-ush-shān's death, the Shekh, fearing the resentment of Ẓū,lfiqār Khān, hid himself and escaped secretly to his home at Alhābād. When Farrukhsīyar started for Agrah to confront Jahāndār Shāh, the Shekh, believing success to be utterly impossible, stayed quietly at home, not even coming to present his respects. After the victory had been won, the Shekh still hesitated to return to Court, since in his day of power he had conciliated no one, not even the sons of his patron. Then one Mulla Shādmān, a holy man of Patnah 'Aẓīmābād, passed through on his way to Dihlī. It is commonly asserted that this man had prophesied that Farrukhsīyar would gain the throne, and from this cause the Prince had acquired the greatest confidence in his powers. Qudratullah, thinking the Mullā's protection would be certain to secure him a favourable reception, joined his party and they travelled together to Dihlī.[2]

On reaching Dihlī, the Mullā was admitted to an audience and received with great cordiality. Assured of his own favour with the new Emperor, the Mullā arranged that at his second interview Qudratullah should accompany him. The Mullā passed on into the *Tasbīḥ Khānah* (chaplet-room or oratory), where the Emperor was, intending to mention Qudratullah's name and obtain leave to produce him. Mīr Jumlah, who was with Fārrukhsīyar, heard what the Mullā said. He had seen the extent of Qudratullah's power and influence in 'Aẓīm-ush-shān's time, and he feared that this might be renewed in the case of the son. His own position would thus be destroyed. Taking hurried leave of the Emperor, he came to the door of the Privy Audience Hall,

[1] B.M. Or, 1690, fol. 165*a*, gives the 13th as the date. He was released on the 17th Jamādī II., 1126 H., at the request of Quṭb-ul-Mulk, after paying a fine of Rs. 100,000 (Kāmwar Khān, 147). Rāe Sābhā (or Sambhā) Cand, Khatrī, died at Dihlī in the end of Jamādī I, 1137 H. (Jan.-Feb., 1725), aged nearly 70 years (*T-i-Mḥdī.*)

[2] Mirzā Muḥammad, 181–186, Kāmwar Khān, 142, *T-i-Mḥdī*, Year 1125. H.

where the Shekh was seated, and gave him a most effusive greeting. He added that, just at that moment, His Majesty being deep in some very important business, a full audience, as such a friend was entitled to, would be impossible; it would be far better for the Shekh to accept for that night the hospitality of his old friend. Next day or the day after, a proper interview could be arranged. As Mīr Jumlah at that time had the entire power of the realm in his own hands, the Shekh thought these blandishments of good augury, and fell in with his proposal. Forgetting all about his companion, Mullā Shādmān, he set off with Mīr Jumlah, who put him in one of his own pālkis and carried him off to his house. That night and the next day Mīr Jumlah was profuse in his attentions.

At the end of the day Mīr Jumlah went to the Emperor. He said to him that it would be wrong to pardon the Shekh. The gentleman was a necromancer and by his incantations and jugglery had inveigled 'Aẓīm-ush-shān into his net. By his rise all the nobles had been put out of heart, hence when Ẓu,lfiqār Khān took the field, many would not bear a part, and the rest although pressed made no proper efforts. If Qudratullah gained the same acceptance here, he would cause mischief in every business. Since Farrukhsīyar looked on Mīr Jumlah as Wisdom and Prudence personified, he gave a nod of assent. Mīr Jumlah left the darbār at the usual time; and at midnight he gave orders to his men to hang the Shekh, in his presence, to a *maulsari* tree growing in the courtyard of his mansion.[1] Next morning, the 13th Ẓu'l qa'dah 1125 H. (30th November 1713), the Shekh's dead body was made over to his servants for burial. It is said that Mullā Shādmān remonstrated with Farrukhsīyar, saying that the man had done nothing to deserve death. Even if such acts were proved, Qudratullah and he having come to Court together, the Shekh's death would bring disgrace on him and throw doubt on his character. Farrukhsīyar was ready to admit all this, but as the deed was done, he made some excuses and tried to talk the Mullā over. But the Mullā declined to remain longer at Court, and returned to his home.[2]

Shortly after this time, Farrukhsīyar having quarrelled with the Sayyads, was afraid that they might bring forward some other prince of

1 *Maulsari*, a tree (Mimusops elengi), the flowers of which are highly fragrant. (Shakespear's Dictionary).

2 Kāmwar Khān, 142, entry of 11th Zul qa'dah 1125 H. (2nd year) gives the facts with a slight variation. He says that Qudratullah, a *darvesh*, son of 'Abdul Jalīl Allahābādī, having reached court presented an offering of one musk bag (*bakhūrah*). An order issued that he should be put up in the house of Mīr Jumlah. On the 12th it was reported that Mīr Jumlah had hung the man.

the house of Taimūr to take his place. But a prince once deprived of eyesight could not be raised to the throne. The Emperor resolved, therefore, to deprive of their eyesight the more prominent and more energetic of the many scions of the house of Taimūr held in captivity in the palace. On the 6th Muḥarram 1126 H. (21st January, 1714), three of the princes, A'zzu-d-dīn, eldest son of Jahāndār Shāh, 'Alā Tabār,[1] son of A'ẓam Shāh, and Farrukhsīyar's own younger brother, Humāyūn Bakht (then only ten or twelve years old), were removed from the palace to the prison at the Tirpoliyah or Triple gate. It was the place where Jahāndār Shāh's life had been taken, and where in a few years' time Farrukhsīyar himself was to suffer the same fate. A needle was passed through the eyes of the three princes, and they were thus rendered incapable of ever becoming rivals for the throne. Mīr Jumlah is credited with having been the man who urged Farrukhsīyar to carry out this harsh act.[2]

Finally, on the 2nd Rabī' II, 1126 H. (16th April, 1714), the Qalmāq woman, Shādmān, entitled Rāe Mān, a servant in the palace, was made over to Sarbarāh Khān, the kotwal or Chief of the Police, and her head was cut off at the *Chabūtrah*,[3] or central police-station. Her crime was that, during the reign of Jahāndār Shāh, one of her relatives had drawn his sword on Mīr Jumlah. Rāe Mān is the woman who gave the alarm when an attempt was made to assassinate Jahāndār Shāh ;[4] she bravely attacked the assailants and slew one of them with her own hand. For this good service she had received the titles of Raẓā Bahādur, Rustam-i-Hind, and the rank of 5,000 *zāt*.[5]

Although not mentioned in the general histories, the humoristic poet, Sayyad Muḥammad Ja'far of Nārnol, poetically Zaṭalī, is said to have been one of the victims. His crime is said to have been a satirical

[1] *Wālā Tabār* in Khāfī Khān. II., 740.

[2] A chronogram was made for it :

Shāh-i-'ālam, ba agẖwāe-i-shayātīn,
Kashīdah mīl dar cashm-i-salātīn (1126 H).

"The lord of the world, at the instigation of devils,
Passed a needle through the eyes of the princes."

Wārid, 150*b*, Kāmwar Khān, p. 144, 'Khāfī Khān II, 740.

[3] *Chabūtrah* means a platform of earth or masonry raised slightly above the surface of the ground. This name was given to the office of the head police officer of Dihlī ; it was situated in the Chāndnī Cauk, the main street leading from the Lāhor gate of the city to the Lāhor gate of the citadel.

[4] See Journal, Vol. LXV (1896), p. 147.

[5] Kāmwar Khān, 146, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 187.

parody of the distich on Farrukhsīyar's coinage. The details will be given when we come to speak of the coinage of the reign.[1]

SECTION 14. FIRST QUARREL WITH THE SAYYADS (APRIL 1713).

The story as told by Yaḥyā Khān, Farrukhsīyar's Mīr Munshī, is that at the enthronement 'Abdullah Khān demanded the post of *wazīr* for himself. Farrukhsīyar made the objection that he had given his word to Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān (*i.e.*, Aḥmad Beg, Ghālib Jang), a promise which he could not break. 'Abdullah Khān might retain all power under the name of *Wakīl-i-Muṭlaq* or vicegerent. 'Abdullah Khān said there had been no *Wakīl-i-Muṭlaq* since Jahāngīr's reign, except when Bahādur Shāh gave that office to Asad Khān. But the two cases were not parallel; he had won the crown for Farrukhsīyar by his own sword and his own right hand, therefore his title to be *wazīr* was indisputable. Farrukhsīyar thought it best to give way, as he had only newly succeeded and was not yet secure on the throne. In this version of the facts, the only certain point is the supersession of Ghāzi-ud-dīn Khan, Ghālib Jang: but there is no sufficient reason to believe that Farrukhsīyar was, in any way, a reluctant participator in the new arrangement, although as soon as he had appointed 'Abdullah Khān, he appears to have repented of it.[2]

As we have seen, a few days after the victory at Agrah, Quṭb-ul-Mulk was detached to seize Dihlī; and, for the moment, the second brother, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, was incapacitated by severe wounds from taking any active part in affairs. The opportunity was too good to be lost. Farrukhsīyar was never long of the same mind and fell always under the influence of the last speaker. Mīr Jumlah, Khān Daurān, Taqarrub Khān, and other personal friends and favourites found thus a splendid opening for intrigue, of which they at once availed themselves. Between the departure of Quṭb-ul-Mulk for Dihlī and Farrukhsīyar's own arrival at the capital barely a month elapsed; but this short interval was sufficient to implant in Farrukhsīyar's mind the seeds of suspicion, and he arrived at Dihlī already estranged from the two Sayyads. We have told how the Court party interfered between the Sayyads and Zu,lfiqār Khān, beguiling the latter

[1] *Malāḥat-i-maqāl*, fol. 74*a*. Beale, p. 186, says Ezad Bakhsh, Razā, was also executed, but as he died in 1119 H. (Rieu, Index, p. 1157), this must be a mistake. The *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, a very accurate work, gives Ezad Bakhsh's death at Akbarābād under 1119 H., and says he was son of Āqā Mullā, son of Zain-ul-'Abidain, son of Āṣaf Khān, Ja'far, the Ṣadīqī, the Qazwīnī, *alias* the Akbarābādī. An account of this Āṣaf Khān is in *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā* I., 113.

[2] Yaḥyā Khān, 122*a*.

to his destruction. These intrigues had not remained altogether concealed from Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, and in the most secret manner he communicated his suspicions to his brother. He wrote, we are told, that on his brother's leaving the camp it was clear, from the Prince's talk and the nature of his acts, that he was a man who paid no regard to claims for service performed, one void of faith, a breaker of his word, and altogether without shame. Thus it was necessary for them to act in their own interests without regard to the plans of the new sovereign. If Ḥusain 'Alī Khān really wrote these words, at such an early stage of his acquaintance with Farrukhsiyar, it proves him to have possessed wonderful penetration and great insight into character. The remainder of our story yields abundant evidence of the fact that the character of Farrukhsiyar could hardly be delineated with greater accuracy than in the above words. Acting on his brother's hint, 'Abdullah Khān, as a precaution, assumed possession of the house lately occupied by Kokaltāsh Khān, Jahāndār Shāh's foster-brother, and with it all the cash and property contained therein.

For a couple of weeks after Farrukhsiyar's entry into Dihlī, the appearance of amity was preserved. But the weapons of discord lay in abundance ready to hand. The disputes that now began raged round two things: The nominations to office, and the appropriation of the confiscated wealth of the Jahāndār Shāhī nobles. A third lever for persuading Farrukhsiyar to get rid of the two Sayyads was found in his superstitious fears.

When 'Abdullah Khān reached Dilhī in advance of the Emperor, he took upon himself to promise the post of *Dīwān* of the *Khālişah*, or Exchequer Office, to Luṭfullah Khān, Ṣādiq, and that of *Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr*, or Head of the Religious Endowments, to the former holder, Sayyad Amjad Khān.[1] On the march from Āgrah, Farrukhsiyar gave these offices to his own followers; Chhabīlah Rām, Nāgar, receiving the *Dīwanī* of the *Khālişah*,[2] and Afẓal Khān, who had taught Farrukhsiyar to read the Qurān, being made Ṣadr. Over these conflicting orders a quarrel broke out directly the Emperor reached Dihlī. 'Abdullah Khān, Quṭb-ul-Mulk, fell into a passion, and said that if his very first exercise of power was contested, what was the object of being wazir? Mīr Jumlah and other favourites did their best to inflame the wound by remarking that when a sovereign deputed power to a minister, it was for

[1] Amjad Khān's original name was Bū 'Alī; he was Bakhshī and Wāqi'ah Nigār of Dihlī at the time of 'Ālamgīr's death and was made Ṣadr by Bahādur Shāh —Khūshḥāl Cand, 376*a*.

[2] Chhabīlah Rām's appointment was made on the 17th Ẓū-l Ḥijjah, Kāmwar Khān, 127.

the minister to recognise the limits of that power, and not make appointments to high office without sanction. A compromise was at last arrived at; Luṭfullah Khān retained the *Dīwani* and Afẓal Khān, the *Ṣadārat* with the titles of Ṣadr Jahān. Chhabīlah Rām was consoled with the Government of Āgrah.[1]

Owing to the violent change of government, there were naturally many confiscated mansions at the disposal of the crown. Two of these with their contents were conferred on Quṭb-ul-Mulk and his brother. One known as Ja'far Khān's, which Kokaltāsh Khān, Khān Jahān, had held, was given to Quṭb-ul-Mulk; and another called Shāistah Khān's, recently in the possession of Żū'lfiqār Khān, was made over to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. As soon as the distribution had been made, Farrukhsīyar's private circle of friends poured into his ear suggestions that these two mansions contained untold treasures, the accumulated wealth of many generations. In them was stored, they said, the property which had belonged to the four sons of Bahādur Shāh, and the whole revenues of Hindūsṭān for a year past. All this had now fallen into the possession of the two Sayyads. On the other hand, the imperial treasury had been emptied and the palace denuded of everything to pay Jahāndār Shāh's soldiers.[2]

Superstition was even more powerfully brought into play. It was a superstitious country and a superstitious age; and Farrukhsīyar was as much subject to these influences as any of his contemporaries. A prophesy had been made, which met with the widest acceptance, that after Bahādur Shāh's death his youngest descendant would reign. He would, in his turn, be followed by a Sayyad. Talk about this became so common that soon everyone had heard it. Of course, it was at once urged on the Emperor that the Sayyad who was to reign could be no other than one of the two brothers. Acting on the principle that dropping water wears away a stone,[3] they repeated this story over and over again to Farrukhsīyar, till it had the effect of making him openly show ill-feeling to the two Sayyad brothers.[4]

The quarrel had proceeded so far by the beginning of Rabī 'I. (27th March 1713), that Quṭb-ul-Mulk ceased to attend the daily audience, an infallible sign that a noble had a grievance or was out of

[1] Mḥd. Qāsim, 171. Afẓal Khān died at Dihlī in the end of Rabī 'II. or early in Jamādī I, 1138 H. (January 1726), Rank 5000—*T-i-Mḥdī.*, Khāfī Khān II, 729, 731.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 132. Wārid, 149*a*.

[3] The Persian saying is *Hezam kashān, 'ālam soz*, "Go on gathering firewood, and you can burn the world"

[4] Wārid, 149*a*.

humour. Farrukhsīyar was always ready to take any step, however humiliating, which might for the moment postpone decisive action and give him time to plan some fresh treachery. Accordingly, on the 9th Rabī 'I. (4th April 1713), on his way back from Wazīrābād, a place on the banks of the Jamnah, where he had gone to hunt, he paid a visit to Quṭb-ul-Mulk's house and embraced him affectionately. He deigned to eat his breakfast and take his midday sleep there before returning to the palace. Quṭb-ul-Mulk, in return for so much condescension, made many costly gifts to His Majesty, receiving others in return. This is noted as the first public disclosure of the ill-feeling between the Emperor and his minister, which went on increasing year by year till it ended in catastrophe.[1]

Section 15. Campaign against Rājah Ajīt Singh Rāhtor (Nov. 1713—July 1714).

As we have already explained, the Rājput states had been for fifty years in veiled revolt from the Imperial authority. Bahādur Shāh had been unable, owing to more pressing affairs, to reduce the Rajahs effectually. During the confusion which arose on that monarch's death, Ajīt Singh, after forbidding cow-killing and the call for prayer from the 'Ālamgīrī mosque, besides ejecting the imperial officers from Jodhpur and destroying their houses, had entered the imperial territory and taken possession of Ajmer. Early in Farrukhsīyar's reign it was determined that this encroachment must be put an end to; and as the Rājah's replies to the imperial orders were not satisfactory, it was necessary to march against him.[2]

At first it was intended that the Emperor in person should take the field, but he was dissuaded on the ground that his dignity would suffer if the rebel fled into the desert, where there was nothing but sand to feed upon. Nor does the Emperor appear to have been in particularly good health.[3] Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was therefore appointed, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah receiving charge of his seal as his deputy at Court. The plots against the Sayyads were still being carried on in Farrūkhsīyar's

1 Kāmwar Khān, 134, Wārid, 149b.

2 Khāfi Khān II, 738. *Aḥwāl-i-Ḫawāqīn*, 69b. According to Tod, II., 82, the Rājah had been called on to send in his son, Abhai Singh, but had refused. Instead, he sent men to Dihlī to assassinate one Mukand, his enemy. This outrage produced the invasion of Jodhpur. Probably this Mukand is the same as Mulkan of Mairtha on p. 75 of the same volume.

3 Farrukhsīyar was ill from the 1st Żū,l Ḥijjah 1125 H. (18th December 1713), but was better on the 9th (26th December), and to stop rumours, he appeared at the Jama 'Masjid on the 'Id *i.e.*, the 10th. His bathing after recovery took place on the 22nd (8th January 1714).—Kāmwar Khān, 143.

entourage, and the plotters hoped that by separating the brothers the task of overthrowing them would be rendered easier. There were also the chances and dangers of a campaign to be counted on in their favour. On this occasion we hear for the first time of a plan which was adopted very frequently in this reign and afterwards. Official orders were given in one sense, and the opposing side received secret letters of a different purport, assuring them of future favour if they made a vigorous defence and defeated the imperial general sent against them. Letters were despatched to Rājah Ajīt Singh urging him to make away with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the Bakhshī's property and treasure would become his; and he would, in addition, receive other rewards.[1]

Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's audience of leave-taking was granted on the 29th Ẓū, 1 Qa'dah (16th December 1713), and his advance tents left Dihlī on the 20th Ẓū, 1 Ḥijjah 1125 H. (6th January 1714). The generals under him were Sarbuland Khān, Afrasyāh Khān, I'tiqād Khān (grandson of Shāistah Khān, deceased), Dildaler Khān, Ṣaif-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān, Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān, Asadullah Khān, Sayyad Shujā'at-ullah Khān, Sayyad Ḥusain Khān, Sayyad Khān, Azīz Khān, Rohelah, Caghtā, Bahādur, Shākir Khān, Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Rājah Udwant Singh, Bundelah, Rājah Gopāl Singh, Bhādauriyah, Rājah Rāj Bahādur of Rūpnagar and others. From the imperial magazines there were delivered to him 500 *mans* of powder and lead, 200 rockets, 100 *mahtāb*, and five cannon. Although a letter had been received from the Rājah on the 15th Ẓū, 1 Ḥijjah 1125 H. (1st January 1714), the contents not being of a satisfactory nature, the preparations were not suspended and the advance began. Then Raghunāth, a *munshī* in the service of Ajit Singh, came to Sarāe Sahal, escorted by one thousand horsemen, with a view to negotiation.[2] Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was then at Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān. He rejected the terms offered and sent on his tents from Sarāe Sahal.[3]

On the march thieves gave much trouble. The general caused a ditch to be dug round the camp each time a halt was made, and Mewātī watchmen were placed outside it on guard. Once two Mīna thieves were caught, and next morning were blown from guns. This severity scared the marauders away. In parganah Rīwārī and the villages on the road there were splendid standing crops. At first these were des-

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 142, entry of 13th Ẓū, 1 Qa'dah 1125 H. (2nd December, 1713) *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqin*, 70*a*, Shiū Dās, p. 36.

[2] The *Tuḥ'at-ul-Hind* of Lāl Rām, B.M. Nos. 6583, 6584, folio 88*b*, gives the date 14th Muḥarram (1126) = 29th January, 1714.

[3] Kāmwar Khān, 142, B.M. 1690, folio 166*a*.

troyed by the camp followers. But to prevent this plundering, petty officers were placed on duty; next day several men were caught red-handed and brought in bound. They were paraded through the camp, seated on donkeys with their faces to the tail and arrows in their ears and noses. By this means the injury to the crops was put an end to.[1]

The Rāhtor army was reported to be twelve kos south of Sāmbhar';[2] rumour said they were hiding in ambush and intended to molest the imperialists while on the march. Not a trace of them, however, was seen between the capital and Ājmer; and as the imperial army passed through parganah Sāmbhar it destroyed Ṣanamgaṛh, a place of worship which had been erected at great cost. The march was conducted under great difficulties, the army suffering much in those sandy deserts from the want of water, in spite of the fact that they carried a provision of it along with them. On reaching Ājmer the camp was pitched for some days on the banks of the lake Anasāgar,[3] whence messengers were sent to the Rājah, on the principle that "Peace is better than War."[4] After a time the Sayyad moved on to Puhkar,[5] five miles north-west of Ājmer and thence to Mairtha, about forty miles further on, in Jodhpur territory; but Ajīt Singh still fled before him further into the sandy desert. An armed post (*thānah*) of two thousand men was placed in the town of Mairtha.[6]

In the country round Ājmer and between that place and Mairtha, the villages of Rājah Ajīt Singh and those of Jai Singh of Ámber are intermingled. The inhabitants of the Jodhpur villages were afraid and took to flight. Thereupon orders were issued to plunder and burn down all villages found uninhabited, but to leave all others unmolested. When this became known, the Jodhpur villages interceded through their Jaipur neighbours; their plundered goods were then restored, the only loss being of the houses that had been burned. The country was thus settled and brought under imperial rule, step by step, as the army moved forward. 'Abu-ṣ-Ṣamad Khān, who had been recalled from the Panjāb, joined at Puhkar, bnt at the very first interview he and the Sayyad disagreed.[7]

On the way to Mairtha, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān called a council of war,

[1] Kām Rāj, 55*a*.

[2] Thornton, 852, on the south bank of the Sāmbhar Lake, about 175 m. S.-W. of Dihlī; Rājputānah Gazetteer, II, 159, 39 m. S.-W. of Jaipur.

[3] Rājputānah Gazetteer, II, 4 and 61.

[4] *Kāre kih bah ṣulaḥ bar-nayāyad,*
Diwanagī dar ū mī-bāyad.

[5] Thornton, 771 (Pokur), and Rājputānah Gazetteer, II, 67: Thornton, 618 (Mirta), 76 m. N.-E. of Jodhpur; (Mirta), Rājputānah Gazetteer, II, 261.

[6] Kām Rāj., 55*a*, Mḥd. Qāsim, 197, *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 71.

[7] *Ma,āṣiru-l-U* I, 321. *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 71*b*, 72*a*.

and proposed that in spite of the approach of the hot weather, stores of water should be collected and the advance continued. Ajīt Singh, he asserted, must either be taken and his head sent to Court, or his son surrendered as a hostage and his daughter offered as a bride to the Emperor. Others advised delay, and much apprehension prevailed. The difficulties were many, the great heat of the sun, the deficiency of water, the high prices, the want of grain and grass for the cattle. In spite of all these, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān resolved to leave most of his baggage behind and make a forced march on Jodhpur.[1]

The conclusion of the campaign was soon announced at Court by a report received on the 14th Rabī 'I, 1126 H. (29th March 1714). It appeared that Ajīt Singh had retreated in one night from his position south of Sāmbhar and had fallen back on Mairtha, and without making any stand there had gone on to Jodhpur, where he had hoped to be safe, surrounded by the desert. Finding that the Sayyad was still pressing onwards and seemed determined to strike a blow at him in spite of the inaccessibility of his capital, he sent his women and children into places of safety in the hill country, and himself sought refuge in the deserts of Bikāner.[2] Evidently he felt himself too weak to meet the imperialists in the open field, and during the time that Sayyad Miyān, the Bakhshi's father, was governor of Ājmer, the Rājputs had learned respect for Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's qualities as a general. When Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was within 30 miles of Mairtha, an embassy arrived from the Rājah, escorted by fifteen hundred horsemen.[3] It was believed that their arrival was a mere subterfuge, devised in order to gain time for the Rājah to escape. In order to make sure of them, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān told them that if they were in earnest, they must agree to be put in fetters. After objecting to this proposal, as involving infamy and disgrace, they consented. Four of the principal men were put in chains. Directly they made their appearance from the Audience tent in this condition, the loose characters of the imperial camp assumed

[1] Kām Rāj, 55*b*, *Aḥwāl-i-Khawāqīn*, 72*a*.

[2] Tod, II., 82, says Ajīt Singh sent off the men of wealth to Sewanoh and his son and family to the desert of Razdarroh, west of the Loni river. This Razdarroh may be the Raus or Rass of Thornton, 820, a town on the N.-W. declivity of the Aravallī range, 38 m. W. of Naṣīrābād, Lat. 26° 17′, Long. 74° 16′. Sewanoh is possibly the Sewarra of Thornton, 876, 27 m. S.-W. by S. of Jodhpur, 42 m. N. of Dīsah, Lat. 24° 50′, Long. 72°.

[3] Khūshḥāl Cand, 401*b*, says that Ajīt Singh asked Jai Singh of Amber for advice, and was recommended to make terms. Is this at all likely? According to Tod, II, 82, the terms were asked for by the advice of Ajīt Singh's *diwāns*, and still more of Kesar, the bard, who adduced a precedent of the time when Daulat Khān, Lodī, had invaded Mārwār.

that the envoys' overtures had been rejected. A body of them rushed at once to the Rājput tents, attacked their guards, and plundered all their property. There was great difficulty in suppressing this disorder. The envoys were sent for, their chains removed, and full apologies made. The envoys themselves were satisfied and continued the negotiation, but news of the outbreak having reached the Rajah, he fled. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was thus forced to advance to Mairtha, where he halted until the terms of peace had been arranged.[1]

The terms were that the Rājah should give one of his daughters in marriage to the Emperor, in the mode which they styled *Dolah*,[2] that the Rājah's son, Abhai Singh, should accompany Ḥusain 'Alī Khān to court, and that the Rājah in person should attend when summoned.[3] Ẓafar Khān (Roshan-ud-daulah) arrived at Court on the 5th Jamādī I 1126 H. (18th May, 1714), with the news. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān sent the greater part of his army back to Dihlī, and remained for two months in Ājmer, restoring the country to order. On the 26th Jamādī II 1126 H. (8th June, 1714), it had been reported that he was at Puhkar, west of Ājmer, on his way back from Mairtha. On the return march, owing to the great heat, they moved at night and halted in the day. On the 2nd Rajab (13th July, 1714), he arrived at Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān. On the 5th he was presented to the Emperor, being received with great outward cordiality, and the commanders who had served under him were richly rewarded. Ẓafar Khān was honoured with the special title of *Fidwī-i-Farmānbardār*, "the loyal and order-obeying servant." Kuṇwar Abhai Singh's audience took place three days afterwards (19th July, 1714), with all fitting ceremony.[4]

Section 16.—Renewal of open Quarrel with the Sayyads.

During Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's absence, Mīr Jumlah's power had gone on increasing. Farrukhsīyar had made over his seal to this favourite, and was often heard to say openly: "the word and seal of Mīr Jumlah are the word and seal of Farrukhsīyar." On his side, Quṭb-ul-Mulk was immersed in pleasure and found little or no leisure to devote to state

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 195, Khafī Khān, II, 738, *Maāṣir-ul-U.* I, 321, Muḥammad Qāsim, 190.

[2] *Dolah*, a Hindī word for an informal marriage. *Tawārīkh-i-Mārwār* of Murārī Dās, Vol. 2, fol. 80*b*, states that the girl's Hindū name was Bāe Indar Kunwar.

[3] Tod II, 82, Abhai Singh was recalled from Razdurroh and marched to Delhī with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān at the end of Asārh 1770. The last day of that month equals 28th June, 1713, or if the southern reckoning be followed, it then falls in 1714 (17th June, 1714).

[4] Tod II, 82, says Abhai Singh was made a Panj Hazārī (5,000): Kāmwar Khān 146, Wārid, fol. 150*b*, Kām Rāj., 56*a*.

affairs. Nor, being a soldier who had come into office without much preparation for civil affairs, was he very competent to deal with the details of administration, for which, moreover, he had no natural taste. Everything was left to his man of business, Ratn Cand, a Hindū of the Baniyā caste, and a native of a village near the Sayyads' home at Jānsath.[1] He had been recently created a Rājah with the rank of 2,000 *zāt*. The chief dispute centred upon the question of appointments to office, the fees paid by those receiving appointments being a recognised and most substantial source of emolument. Ratn Cand, in addition to these customary fees, exacted large sums, which were practically bribes or payments for the grant of the appointment. By Mīr Jumlah's independent action in bringing forward candidates and affixing the seal to their warrants of appointment, without following the usual routine of passing them through the wazīr's office, the emoluments of both the chief minister and of his head officer were considerably curtailed. It is a matter of little wonder, therefore, that Quṭb-ul-Mulk felt aggrieved at the unusual powers placed in the hands of a rival such as Mīr Jumlah. This noble was much more accessible than the wazīr, and was not given to the extortionate practices of Ratn Cand. Naturally, men in search of employment or promotion sought his audience-hall rather than that of Quṭb-ul-Mulk. The wazīr suffered, in this way, both in influence and in income. Moreover, Mīr Jumlah allowed no opportunity to pass without depreciating the Sayyad brothers, and brought forward arguments of every sort to prove that they were unfitted for the offices that they held.[2]

The quarrel which had broken out in the first weeks of the reign was patched up in the manner already recounted. But no thorough reconciliation had been effected; nor, considering the character of Farrukhsīyar, was any such reconciliation to be expected. The Sayyad brothers could never be certain from day to day that some new plot was

[1] My old acquaintance, Rāe Bahādur Nihāl Chand, Āgarwāl, an Honorary Magistrate of Muzaffarnagar, in a letter of the 1st Dec., 1893, informs me that Ratn Cand was a native of Jānsath town, where he had built a handsome house, now in a ruined state, but still in the hands of his impoverished descendants. He belonged to a sub-caste of the Āgārwāls called *Rājah-kī-barādarī* (*i.e.*, the Rajāh's relations), the reference being to Rājah Agar Sen, the reputed founder of the caste, their ancestor having been that Rājah's son by a concubine. The epithet of *Baqqāl* (shop-keeper) attached to Ratn Cand's name, is the Persion version of the vernacular caste name *Baniyā* or *Mahajan* (trader). None of these words necessarily implies that Ratn Cand had ever kept a shop; they are the name of his caste. Many Baniyās by caste may still be found in the employ of the State, in all grades.

[2] Khāfī Khān II*a*, 739, Khūshḥāl Cand, 399*a*.

not being hatched for their destruction. The Rājputānah campaign was the means of unmasking one of these schemes. Secret letters had been, as we have already mentioned, despatched to Rājah Ajīt Singh, urging him to strenuous resistance, and inviting him, if he could, to make away with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. These letters came into Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's possession and through them he acquired proof of Farrukhsiyar's double-faced dealings. There are two stories of the manner in which this happened. One, told by Wārid, is that when Rājah Ajīt Singh was hardpressed and saw no other way out of the danger, he sent in the original letters for the perusal of the Sayyad. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān at once entered into negotiations for a peace, in order that he might return to Court without delay to defend his own and his brother's interests. The other version is, that the Rājah made the letters over to his daughter when she started for Court, and that either on the journey or after her arrival at Dihlī, when staying in the mansion of the Sayyad, the documents were in some way got at and their contents ascertained. In the interval of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's absence, Quṭb-ul-Mulk had found the greatest difficulty in maintaining his position at Court. All the power was in the hands of Mīr Jumlah. Every day messages came from Farrukhsīyar, couched in various forms, but all urging him to resign the office of wazīr. Quṭb-ul-Mulk now wrote letters to his brother enjoining him to return to Dihlī with all possible speed. In response to these calls, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, as we have seen, reached the capital again on the 5th Rajab 1126 H. (16th July, 1714).[1]

For the next two or three months the breach between the Emperor and the minister, although far from closed, was not sensibly widened. The Sayyads, as was natural, looked on Farrukhsīyar's accession to the throne as the work of their hands, and resented the grant of any share of power to other persons. On the other hand, the small group of Farrukhsīyar's intimates, men who had known him from his childhood and stood on the most familiar terms with him, were aggrieved at their exclusion from a share in the spoil. They felt that they themselves were not strong enough to attack the Sayyads openly; and recourse to other nobles of wealth or experience would do no more than substitute one set of masters for another. Their plan, therefore, was to work upon the weak-minded Farrukhsīyar." "The Sayyads," they said to him, "look upon you as their creation, and think nothing of you or your "power. They hold the two chief civil and military offices, their "relations and friends have the principal other offices, and the most "profitable land assignments (*jāgīrs*). Their power will go on increasing, "until, should they enter on treasonable projects, there will be no one able

[1] Wārid, fol. 150*a*, 150*b*, Seir I, 80-81, Seir text, 23.

"to resist them. It would be better to reduce their strength in time. For "this purpose, two nobles of position should be brought to the front and "placed on an equality with them." If the Sayyads gave way, all would be well; the object sought would have been accomplished. But should they, with the rashness (*jahālat*) for which the Bārhah Sayyads were famous, resist the undermining of their power, then the two nobles could oppose force to force. But open fighting should be resorted to only in the last extremity. The two brothers should be caught when unattended and made prisoners, as had been done with Ẓū,lfiqār Khān, and if necessary, despatched as he had been.[1]

Farrukhsīyar, a man of no wisdom, accepted this advice as the perfection of right reasoning, the acme of loyalty to his person. The two men selected to confront the Sayyads were Khān Daurān and Mīr Jumlah. They were both promoted to the rank of 7,000 horse: they were placed, the former at the head of 5,000 *Wālā shāhī*, and the latter of 5,000 Mughal troopers. Many of their relations were pushed forward into high rank, and counting these men's troops, each of the two nobles had at his command over ten thousand men. Among the signs of this favouritism was the order passed on the 12th Sha'bān (2nd Sept., 1713), permitting Mīr Jumlah to entertain 6,000 horsemen, who were to be specially paid from the imperial treasury. These were raised by Amānat Khān, his adopted son, from Mughals born in India, and some seventy lakhs of rupees for their pay were disbursed from the treasury, the rules as to descriptive rolls of the men and branding of the horses being set aside. No order was issued by Farrukhsīyar without the advice and approval of the above two men. In this exercise of authority Mīr Jumlah assumed the lead, till at length Quṭb-ul-Mulk was only the nominal, while he was the real wazīr. The two Sayyads bowed for the time to the Emperor's will, and made no opposition to these usurpations. At length, through the indiscretion of some palace servants, the Sayyads learnt of the plots against their life.[2] They ceased to appear in darbar and shut themselves up in their houses,

[1] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 189.

[2] Or as some say, they were informed by a message from Farrukhsīyar's mother, who considered herself bound by the promises made to the Sayyads at Paṭnah. (Khāfī Khān II, 740). One authority (*Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 77b) makes Luṭfullah Khān, Ṣādiq, the informant. He is described as "unrivalled in deceit, professing "devotion to the sovereign, and yet as thick as could be with the Sayyads." He sent word to the latter privately that he had been present one night in Farrukhsīyar's audience-chamber, when, at the instigation of Mīr Jumlah and Khān Daurān, the Emperor had spoken harshly of them. There was no time for writing at length; one word was as good as a volume. Let them refrain from attending Court; or if they did attend, let them be very cautious.

taking every possible precaution against a surprise. The Emperor's desire to ruin them became a matter of public rumour, although, when appealed to, the nobles and confidants of the Emperor strenuously denied its truth.[1]

At length, in Żū,l Qa'dah 1126 H. (7th Nov.–6th Dec., 1714), a son having been born to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, he resolved, as the custom was, to present a gift to His Majesty and ask him to name the child. At this time Farrukhsiyar was out on a hunting expedition and his camp was in a grove not far from the city.[2] When the Nawāb reached the Privy Audience Hall, finding the Emperor still in the chapel tent, he took a seat. While he was waiting, a number of his friends confided to him the secret that on that day it was intended to lay violent hands upon him. A number of men were hid in ambush. The Nawāb felt his last hour had come and prepared to meet his fate. When his arrival was reported to Farrukhsiyar, an order was sent out for him to come to the oratory.[3] The Nawāb betrayed no fear, but walked towards the tent. When the door-keeper, following the rules of the palace, requested him to lay aside his arms, he became inwardly apprehensive and said: "Very well, as it is not convenient to receive "me just now, I will make my bow another time." Report of this hesitation was taken to Farrukhsiyar, who came out, staff in hand, and stood outside the chapel tent, and received the Nawāb's obeisance there, and replying with some silly, unmeaning compliments, dismissed him to his home. But the countenance of Farrukh-siyar betrayed the real anger and vexation under which he was labouring from the non-success of his plans to seize the Nawāb.[4]

When he reached his house, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān wrote to the Emperor to the following effect. It was quite clear that distrust of his brother and himself had found entrance into the Emperor's mind, and he was resolved on their overthrow. In that case, what could they do but submit to orders? But honour was a thing dearer than life; they might fall, but in so doing, they would take care not to sacrifice their honour. Let them be removed from rank and office, with leave to return to their homes and there offer their prayers for His Majesty's welfare. On reading the letter Farrukhsiyar took fright and returned to the city at once, in the hope of procuring some reconciliation. It so happened that soon after he reached the palace, a letter arrived from Quṭb-ul-Mulk to the same effect. Farrukhsiyar's equanimity was still further upset. From

[1] Mirzā Muḥammad, 190, Kāmwar Khān, 139.
[2] The Bāgh of Muḥsin Khān is named in Khāfī Khān II, 739.
[3] *Tasbīḥ Khānah*, literally "chaplet-room."
[4] Mirzā Muḥammad, 191, Wārid, 150*b*, 151*a*.

this time, the two Sayyads gave up attendance at darbar, and persisted in demanding the acceptance of their resignation of rank and office. Meanwhile they fortified their houses, and after Farrukhsīyar's return to the palace, negotiations went on for nine days. Among the messages they sent was one asking for a grant of several lakhs of *dāms*, payable from the country round their home, to which they would retire; or they offered to recover Balkh and Badakhshān, which might be given them in *jāgīr* if they were successful. On the other hand, if they failed they would have earned a name which would survive until the Day of Judgment. If this request, too, was refused, let the plotters against them appear and fight them on the sands of the Jamnah below the palace windows (*jharokah*), the Emperor becoming spectator and umpire. Power would belong to the survivors. To all these importunities the Emperor's answer was that no plot against them was in existence.[1]

The conspirators told the Emperor that as the Sayyads were strongly supported by a large army and a numerous following of relations and adherents, their only object in offering to resign was to secure an unopposed withdrawal from the city, where they saw that it was impossible to carry out a successful revolt. Once in their home country, they would be certain to break out into rebellion. From this stage, the quarrel having become public, concealment was no longer possible and the principal nobles were called into consultation by Farrukhsīyar. Finally it was resolved not to interfere openly with the Sayyads, but to appoint a new wazīr, in the hope that their adherents would fall away from them. Most of these had resorted to them with the object of obtaining assignments on the land revenue. Deserted, as they probably would be, by these men, their party would be weakened and their consequence would gradually diminish.

It is said that the leader in giving this advice was Muḥammad Amīn Khān, I'timād-ud-daulah. His idea was that, since in length of service, nobility of family, fertility of resource, and ability as a soldier, there was in his opinion no one his equal or rival, the Emperor's choice must fall upon him. And it is quite likely that, if he had been supported and given authority to act, he could have carried the affair to a successful termination. But the Emperor's advisers foresaw that if the present danger were overcome through his aid, and their first enemies removed out of their way, to get rid afterwards of the victor would be a still more arduous enterprize than the one at present before them. They preferred that Mīr Jumlah should receive the robes of *Dīwān* and assume the office of chief minister. Now, as a contemporary writer remarks, Mīr Jumlah and Khān Daurān "were only carpet knights

[1] Kām Rāj, 53*b*, Mirzā Muḥammad, 193.

"(*sher-i-qālīn*) and not true fighters (*mard-i-maidān*). They talked "well, but evaded dealing with the kernel (*maghz*) of the matter." Mīr Jumlah, having no real strength of character, knew that he was not fitted to enter the lists as a champion to fight the Sayyads. He therefore made excuses and drew on one side. Who, then, was "to bell the cat"? There remained Khān Daurān. He was in reality a mere braggadacio, a big talker of the kind supposed to be the peculiar product of Hindūstān;[1] and he was frightened lest he should ever be called on to take the lead, and lose his life in the attempt to destroy the Sayyads. Therefore he went secretly to Farrukhsiyar and suggested as the best course that Muḥammad Amīn Khān should be propitiated in every way, and the control of the affair confided to him. When it had been concluded and the Sayyads destroyed, he could be removed from office before he had time to consolidate his power. Overtures ought to be made to him.[2]

Muḥammad Amīn Khān, who had learnt the inmost secrets of the plot, and was also disheartened by the shifting moods of Farrukhsiyar, was far from ready to accept the office. He said that he had no wish to be wazīr; he was a plain soldier unaccustomed to such duties. If fighting men were wanted and the Emperor would head the troops in person, he would perform the obligations of a loyal servant and give his life for his master. But in the absence of His Majesty, his own troops and those of his relations were unequal to an attack on the Sayyads. The imperial and *Wālā Shāhī* troops had been warned for service under him; but he had no proof of their fighting quality. How could he feel any confidence in them? Besides, they were all of them near death's door from poverty and hunger, having neither good horses nor effective arms. In the *Wālā Shāhī* corps they had enlisted many townsmen, who neither respected others nor were themselves respected. Indeed, many lowcaste men and mere artisans held commands. He could not rely on such troops. Finding this lack of zeal among his partisans, Farrukhsiyar began to lose heart. The men of the *Haft Caukī*, or personal guard, were ordered into the palace; and the unity and firm resolve of the Sayyads having been fully ascertained, it was decided to resume friendly relations with them.

While all these schemes were in progress, the Sayyads stopped at home and were never seen at *darbār*. Crowds of their dependents and

[1] R. F. Burton "Book of the Sword," 108, note 4, applies to the Indians the lines:

"for profound
"And solid lying much renowned."

[2] Mirzā Muḥammad, 194, *Aḥwāl-i-Khawāqīn*, 77*b*.

flatterers continued to attend their audiences. But soon it became known that the Emperor had made up his mind to destroy them, and had transferred the office of wazir to another. By slow degrees the daily crowd of suppliants grew less and less. Nay, some of the very Bārhah Sayyads absented themselves, and the two brothers and their adherents fell into great perplexity. If things had gone on like this for three or four days longer, they would have been much reduced in strength: in another week or ten days, the Emperor's end would have been gained. But it was not long before the truth leaked out, as to the differences among his advisers, the want of heart in his troops, and the state of alarm into which he had himself fallen. Once more the Sayyads' mart resumed its former briskness, and the throng at their doors became greater than before.

The Emperor ordered Islām Khān, Mashhadi, formerly head of the artillery, to point some cannon at Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's mansion, and kill him if possible. This order was not obeyed; and on Mīr Jumlah's complaint, Islām Khān was sent for. That officer excused himself on the plea of the risk to innocent neighbours, and asked what fault the Sayyad had committed. Farrukhsīyar began to complain of them. Islām Khān then offered his services as intermediary. Having visited them and expressed to them the Emperor's grievances, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān began with a denial of having thwarted the Emperor in the least. He continued: "The words of the truthful, though somewhat bitter, yield "pleasant fruit. As S'adī of Shīrāz says:

'Each good deed has its reward, each fault its penalty.[1]

"If they were in fault, let the Emperor himself say so; why should a "multitude suffer for the crimes of two men; their heads were there, "ready for His Majesty's sword. By God Most High! since they "were real Sayyads, no word of reproach would escape their lips:—

We turn not our heads from the sword of the enemy,
Whatever falls on our head is our Destiny."[2]

This talk frightened Islām Khān so much that he soon asked for leave to go. He hurried back to Farrukhsīyar, and worked on the Emperor's mind till his views were changed. Islām Khān then suggested: "Why not send for them"? and he offered to bring them. Farrukhsīyar said: "Good, I also wish it." Islām Khān reported to the Sayyads that the Emperor had turned round and would like to see them. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān met this by the objection that though they

1 *Har 'aml ajr, o har gunāh jazāe dārad.*

2 *Sar na gardānem az tegh-i-janīb,*
Har cah āyad bar sar-i-man ba nasīb.

were loyal, they could not go to Court while Mīr Jumlah was there; but they were willing to go on active service. Why should they remain at Court when there was no real but only apparent friendship. "Ser-"vice and submission are from the heart, not from the tongue."[1]

Farrukhsīyar, who was much cast down at the refusal of his friends to act, followed up this negotiation with further attempts to conciliate the Sayyads and offers of doing their will, swearing many oaths that he would never attempt to injure them again. Khwājah Ja'far, the holy man, an elder brother of Khān Daurān, Sayyad Ḥusain Khān, Bārhah, Sayyad Shujā'at Khān and others, went to and fro repeatedly. At these interviews the Sayyads expatiated, as usual, on their good services and the devotion they had shown, diversified by loud complaints of the Emperor's ingratitude. At length they said that they were convinced that the flames of illwill had been set alight by the efforts of Mīr Jumlah and Khān Daurān. So long as those two gentlemen were left at Court they did not feel justified in presenting themselves there, for they would still be afraid of renewed attack. But Khwājah Ja'far succeeded in overcoming their objection to Khān Daurān. He entered into a solemn covenant on his brother's behalf, that he would never again act towards the Sayyads contrary to the rules of true friendship. Should the Emperor entertain any such project, he would hinder its execution to the best of his ability. If unsuccessful, he would at once warn the Sayyads. On these terms Khān Daurān was forgiven. Mīr Jumlah was thus left to meet the brunt of their displeasure, and they insisted on his dismissal from Court.[2] It was about this time that two of the Sayyads' uncles, Sayyad Khān Jahān and Asadullah Khān, counselled them to retire from Court. Quṭb-ul-Mulk objected that they were unfit for a saintly, recluse life. Khān Jahān explained that he did not counsel retirement from the world, but retirement from Court. "Say to the Emperor that you do not wish "to remain at Court, that soldiers such as you are cannot manage the "duties of a *wazīr* or a *bakhshī*; let him send one of you to Bengal, the "other to the Dakhin." The brothers thought the proposal a good one, but feared that it would be misrepresented by their enemies. Sayyad Khān Jahān asked, "How so"? They replied that they would be accused of meditating independence. Then another idea was brought forward. Why should they not, in order to obtain the removal of Mīr Jumlah, propose that one of the two brothers leave Court at the same time as Mīr Jumlah. All present approved, and a request to this effect was sent to the Emperor through I'tibār Khān, a eunuch. Strangely

[1] *Aḥwāl-i khawāqīn*, 88*a* to 91*b*.

[2] Mirzā Muḥammad, 198.

enough Farrukhsiyar had conceived a similar plan, and therefore the offer was at once accepted.[1]

As Farrukhsiyar was by this time in a great fright and held it of the first importance to come to some settlement, he now consented gladly to all their demands. On the 22nd Ẓū,l Qa'dah 1126 H. (28th November, 1714), the Emperor's mother visited the house of Quṭb-ul-Mulk and on her son's behalf renewed his promises, binding herself by oaths in the most solemn form. On the next day Quṭb-ul-Mulk with all his retinue repaired to the palace. Mīr Jumlah and Khān Daurān advanced as far as the door of the Public Audience Hall to receive him. The Nawāb reproached them to their faces in the severest language. But the two cowards swallowed the bitter draught as if it had been composed of sugar and honey. Not a word of answer issued from their lips. The Emperor was seated at the window in the Hall of Justice, when Quṭb-ul-Mulk came in, followed by forty to fifty of his most trusty veterans. His Majesty embraced him affectionately and entered into many excuses for his own doings, the tears standing in his eyes the while. Quṭb-ul-Mulk also wept, and recounted at length his own and his brother's many acts of loyalty and self-sacrifice, ending with asservations of their unalterable devotion. Then, in accordance with the demands of the Sayyads, it was agreed that Mīr Jumlah should be despatched to *Ṣūbah* Bahār; while Luṭfullah Khān, Ṣādiq, who furnished all the brains that Mīr Jumlah had, and was believed by the brothers to be at the root of all the mischief, was deprived of his rank. His mansion and gardens were confiscated, but on the request of Quṭb-ul-Mulk, the rest of his property was left to him. On the 5th Ẓū,l Ḥijjah 1126 H. (11th December, 1714), Mīr Jumlah was conducted to Lāhor in the charge of two mace-bearers.[2]

On the day appointed for their attendance, just before the Sayyads were received in audience, Luṭfullah Khān Sādiq, with effusive signs of joy, had met them in the middle of the great court in front of the public audience chamber, and began to sound their praises like a hired flatterer. "During their absence the Court, even at noon-tide, had been "plunged in the darkness of a long winter night, it seemed as if with "them the sun and moon had disappeared" and more in the same strain. Quṭb-ul-Mulk retorted roughly: "What is the use of all this "fulsome talk; if you meant it in your heart, why did you not show it "in acts and try to heal the breach"? Luṭfullah Khān then informed them that he had noticed a change in the Emperor's purpose, and believed that mischief was intended, for this reason only had he now

[1] *Aḥwāl-i-Khawāqīn*, 93*b*.

[2] Mirzā Muḥammad, 199, Kāmwar Khān, 151, has 23rd—Wārid, 151*a*.

troubled them. Having planted the seeds of distrust in their hearts, he hurried back to the Emperor and said that from what he had seen, he expected the Sayyads would use force. Farrukhsīyar broke out into anger: "The better I treat these men, the worse they oppose me." Additional guards were posted at the doors. After the usual ceremonies, Quṭb-ul-Mulk stepped forward and protested their loyalty, and prayed that tale-bearers might no longer be listened to. For instance, a person trusted by His Majesty had just met them in the open court of the Audience Hall, and professing to be their friend, had told them that His Majesty meant to treat them harshly. If His Majesty thought them worthy of punishment, let him execute them with his own hand; and they would be happy to become a sacrifice. Farrukhsīyar retorted that a man had just told him the Sayyads intended to use force. The Sayyads rejoined that till one of these men was punished, things would never resume their proper course. The Emperor demanded the same. Explanations followed; this double treachery was brought home to the culprit, and the incident was the principal cause of Luṭfullah Khān's sudden disgrace.[1]

As Nawāb Ḥusain 'Alī Khān would not come to court until Mīr Jumlah had left, the latter received his audience of dismissal on the *'Id-uz-zuḥā* (16th December, 1714). Four days afterwards (20th December, 1714), Ḥusain 'Alī Khān entered the palace with his men, observing the same precautions as in the case of Quṭb-ul-Mulk. The Emperor and the Mīr Bakhshī exchanged compliments, under which their real sentiments were easily perceived. Some months before this time (12th Ramaẓān, 1126 H.—20th September, 1714) Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had obtained in his own favour a grant of the Dakhin *Ṣūbahs*, in super-

1 *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 72*a*.

The following pungent chronogram is given by Khūshḥāl Cand (404*a*), who evidently disliked Luṭfullah Khān very much:—

Ai! ba-bin 'z āh-i-khalq Luṭfullah
Az bulandī 'ftādah dar tah-i-cāh;
Sāl-i-tārīkh az Khirad justam:
Guft Hātif kih, "Radd shud badkhwāh" (1126).

"Oh! Behold, through the cries of the people, Luṭfullah has fallen from a lofty place into a deep well; I sought the date from Wisdom. An angel spoke: "The wisher of evil was cast out."

Luṭfullah Khān went to his home at Pānīpat, where Mirzā Muḥammad paid him a visit on the 9th Ṣafar 1131 H. (28th Dec., 1718), when passing through on his way from Dihlī to Rāhūn in the Jālandhar *dūābah* (Mirzā Muḥammad, 420). Dakhnī Khānum, the Emperor's maternal aunt, entered on possession of Luṭfullah's confiscated mansion.

session of Niẓām-ul-Mulk. He had then no intention of proceeding there in person, but meant to exercise the government through a deputy, Dāūd Khān, as had been done by Ẕū,lfiqār Khān, after fixing the amount of profit to be remitted to him every year. It was now proposed that he should leave Court and take over charge of the Dakhin himself. Owing to fears for his brother's safety and other reasons, he had been very reluctant to leave Dihlī. At length, under pressure of circumstances, he consented to take his departure to the South, Khān Daurān Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah being appointed his deputy at Court. One writer[1] ascribes this change of plan to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's disgust with recent events. It should rather be looked on as part of the agreement under which Mīr Jumlah was sent away.[2]

On the 17th Ẕū,l Hijjah (3rd December, 1714), after his own troops had taken charge of the palace gates, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's audience of leave-taking took place; but his first march to Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliyā's tomb was postponed till the 29th Ṣafar (5th March), and his actual departure was not reported till the 30th Rabī' I 1127 H. (4th April, 1715), when he set out by way of Ājmer. At this last audience he had made the significant remark that if in his absence, Mīr Jumlah were recalled, or his brother were subjected to annoyance, his return to Court might be looked for within twenty days from the occurrence of either event. He took with him power to appoint and remove all officials and exchange the commanders of all forts in the Dakhin. Nay, a common story is that, under compulsion, Farrukhsīyar made over to him the great seal, in order that the warrants of appointment to the forts should not require imperial confirmation. The settlement of these various matters had caused a delay of three or four months, which were spent by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān at Bārahpulah.[3] Hardly was Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's back turned before new schemes were contrived, and on the 29th Jumādī I (3rd May, 1715), Dāūd Khān, then Governor at Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt, was reappointed to Burhānpur, one of the *Ṣūbahs* under charge of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. Dāūd Khān received secret instructions from the Court to resist the Mīr Bakhshī to the best of his ability, and if possible to kill him. The reward promised him was succession to the six *Ṣūbahs* of the Dakhin. When we come to relate events in the various provinces during this reign, we shall return to the subject. Suffice it to say here that, much to the chagrin of the Court party, Dāūd Khān was killed in battle near Burhānpur on the 8th Ramaẓān 1127 H. (6th September, 1715),

[1] Mirzā Muḥammad, 202.

[2] Khāfī Khān, II, 741.

[3] Mirzā Muḥammad, India Office Library, MS. No. 50, foll. 128*b*, Khāfī Khān, II, 742.

and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was victorious. In the same way, Mīr Jumlah's doings at Paṭnah will be told hereafter.[1]

Section 17.—Farrukhsīyar's Marriage to Ajīt Singh's Daughter (May–December 1715).

Owing to his anxiety to return at once to Court, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had not been able to wait in Rājputānah, until Rājah Ajīt Singh had finished the necessary preparations for the despatch of his daughter to Dihlī. When the dispute with the Sayyads had been allayed and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had taken his departure for the Dakhin, Shāistah Khān, the Emperor's maternal uncle, was sent on the 12th Jamādī I 1127 H. (15th May, 1715) to bring the bride from her home at Jodhpur. He arrived with her at Dihlī on the 25th Ramaẓān 1127 H. (23rd September, 1715), and tents were erected within the palace for her reception. She was then sent to the mansion of Amīr-ul-Umarā, and the preparations for the wedding were made over to Quṭb-ul-Mulk. Four days afterwards the Emperor repaired to the mansion of Amīr-ul-Umarā, and there on repetition of the creed, the lady was admitted into the Mahomedan faith. The same night the marriage rīte was performed by Sharīyat Khān, the chief Qāẓī, one lakh of gold coins[2] being entered in the deed as her dower. The nobles presented their congratulations, and the Qāẓī received a present of Rs. 2,000).[3]

The bridegroom's gifts to the bride[4] were provided on a regal scale by the Emperor's mother, and sent to the bride's quarters on the 15th Żū,l Ḥijjah (11th December, 1715), accompanied by many nobles, who were entertained by Quṭb-ul-Mulk. On the 20th the ceremony of applying henna to the bridegroom's hands and feet carried out, and the persons who brought it were entertained in the usual way.[5] On the 21st (17th December, 1715), the whole of the Dīwān-i-'Ām and the courtyard (*Jilau Khānah*), both sides of the road within the palace, and the plain towards the Jamnah were illuminated by lamps placed on bamboo screens. About nine o'clock in the evening, Farrukhsīyar came out by the Dihlī

[1] Kāmwar Khān,—Report of battle received 10th Shawwāl, 1127 H. (8th October, 1715).

[2] *Ashrafī*, a gold coin worth 16 rupees.

[3] Mirzā Muḥammad, 212, Kāmwar Khān, 156, 158.

[4] These were called the *Sāchaq*, a Turkī word. Mirzā Muḥammad tried to get into the palace of Quṭb-ul-Mulk as a spectator, but the crowd was so great that he was forced to come away. In the Orme Collections, p. 1697, Surman's diary says: "December 1st. Great preparations made for the King's marriage with the Ranny that arrived some time ago." December 1st, Old Style = December 12th, New Style.

[5] Mirzā Muḥammad, I. O. Library, No. 50, fol. 132*a*. For *Hinnā bandan*, *Mahndī bandan*, *see* Herklot's "Qanoon e-Islam," p. 68.

gate of the palace; seated on a moveable throne and wearing, according to usage, the clothes sent to him by the bride's father, of which Khemsī, Bhandārī, had been the bearer. The Emperor was preceded by platforms, on which stood women singing and dancing as they were carried along. Fireworks were let off.[1] The Emperor entered the house of Amīr-ul-Umarā and there completed the usual ceremonies. Those observed on this occasion were a mixture of Mahomedan and Hindū usages. One which caused much remark was the offer to the guest of a drink made of rose-water, sugar, and opium. This mixture was pressed on them by the Rajputs on the plea that it was the custom of their country. Many Mahomedans drank of it, but some objected. There was another thing never seen before in an imperial wedding. A gold plate had been made with five divisions, and each of these divisions was filled with precious stones. In one, diamonds; in another, rubies; in the third, emeralds; in the fourth, topazes; and in the fifth, which was in the centre of them all, large and valuable pearls.[2] Farrukhsīyar returned late at night, bringing the bride with him to the palace, which he entered by the Lāhor gate, it being unlucky to go and come by the same route. The festivities continued to the end of the month.[3]

The consummation of the marriage had been delayed for a month or two by Farrukhsīyar's illness. When he returned to Dihlī on the 19th Sha'bān (19th August, 1715), he was suffering from hæmorrhoids. It was on this occasion that the services of William Hamilton, the English surgeon, were called into requisition. He had accompanied an embassy sent to Dihlī to complain of the conduct of Murshid Qulī Khān, Nāẓim of Bengal, in regard to the re-imposition of the custom duties which had been remitted by 'Ālamgīr.[4] By the 16th October

[1] Mirzā Muḥammad and his brother were present in the procession, on foot. They went with it from the Dīwān-i-'Ām to the house of Amīr-ul-Umarā, M.M., 219.

[2] Yaḥyā, 122*b*, Khūshḥāl Cand, 402*a*.

[3] *Taghaiyyar-i-rāh dādan*; not to return by the way or gate by which you went, a practice observed by the Emperors of Hindustan (*Mirātu-l-iṣṭilāḥ*). Mīr 'Abd-ul-Jalīl, Bilgrāmī, wrote a long *maṣnavī*, or narrative poem, in honour of the occasion. (Lithographed at Nawal Kishor Press, Lakhnau, 1298 H.) Mr. Beale praises it for the skill with which the Hindū names of the planets are introduced under the guise of Persian words. (*Miftāḥ*, 301). The chronogram of Mḥd. Aḥsan, Ma'nī Khān (Ijād), was :—

From the garden of Mahārājah Jaswant Singh
A flower came to the secret chambers of the palace.
Zi bāgh-i-Mahārājah Jaswant Singh
Ba mukhbūe daulat darāmad gule (1127). *Miftāḥ*, 302, Mirzā Muḥammad, 213-14, Kāmwar Khān, and Wheeler, 178.

[4] J. T. Wheeler, "Early Records," 169-184.

(N.S.), the Emperor had been for some time under treatment by Mr. Hamilton. His ailments are said in the envoy's letters to have been first swellings in the groin and then a threatened fistula. This account agrees closely with the contemporary writer, Kāmwar Khān's, statement.[1] On the 3rd, Farrukhsīyar bathed on his recovery, and on the 10th December the surgeon was publicly presented with valuable gifts. As to this mission we shall give further details in a future section.

Section 18.—Fight between the Retainers of Muḥammad Amīn Khān and of Khān Daurān (April 1st, 1716).

As an illustration of the disorder and want of discipline prevailing, even when the Emperor was present, among the large bodies of troops maintained by the chief nobles, we will here recount a fight which took place between the men of Muḥammad Amīn Khān and those of Khān Daurān. On the 6th Rabī' II 1128 H. (29th March, 1716), Farrukhsīyar started for one of his numerous hunting expeditions to Siūlī, a preserve near Sonpat and about 20 miles north of Dihlī. On the 26th (18th April, 1716), he returned to Āgharābād, just north of the city, and pitched his camp near the garden of Shālimār. Three days afterwards (21st April, 1716), Mirzā Muḥammad rode out from the city in the morning, and after paying some visits, alighted at the tents of Sa'dullah Khān, where he ate his breakfast and took a sleep. Near the time of afternoon prayer (*ẓuhar*), at less than three hours to sunset, as he was preparing to go home, he heard the sound of cannon and musketry fire. The men of Muḥammad Amīn Khān and of Khān Daurān had begun to fight. The contest went on for over an hour, and as Mirzā Muḥammad was riding home, he met crowds of armed men, who were hurrying from the city to take a part in the affray, the majority being retainers of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, most of whose men had gone into the city, whereas Khān Daurān's were still with him. Opposite the Surkh-sangī or red-stone Mosque, Qamr-ud-dīn Khān, son of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, was encountered, galloping at the head of some men to his father's aid. During the night word was brought into the city that by Farrukhsīyar's orders, Amīn-ud-dīn Khān and others had parted the combatants and settled the dispute. The origin of the affair was this. Muḥammad Amīn Khān's retinue was returning from the audience to their own tents at the time Khān

[1] *O cān dar īn ayyām nāsūre dar a'zāe safalī-i-Bādshāh-i-daurān āriz shudah būd . . .* "as in those days a gangrene had established itself in the ignoble parts of the reigning Emperor" . . . Kāmwar Khān's date for the gifts is the 14th Zūl, Qa'dah (10th Nov., 1715). The English Envoy (on July 7th, 1715), calls the ailment bluntly "buboes," Orme Coll., p. 1695.

Daurān's wife was on her road from the city. The two *cortèges* met, and in passing each other there was some confusion and hustling. As soon as Khān Daurān's men had escorted the Begam to her destination, they returned in a body and attacked Muḥammad Amīn Khān's baggage. The few guards resisted, and a bow and arrow and matchlock fight continued for about one and a half hours. One Nāmdār Khān and several soldiers lost their lives; many of the bāzār followers also being killed and wounded. The Emperor reduced both nobles 1,000 *zāt* in rank, and the *faujdārī* of Murādābād was taken from Muḥammad Amīn Khān and conferred on Amīn-ud-dīn Khān. For two or three days neither noble would come to darbār. Then Farrukhsīyar wrote a note to Khān Daurān and sent I' timād Khān, a eunuch, to bring Muḥammad Amīn Khān. A reconciliation was effected between the two men; and after their arrival in the city, they entertained each other in turn as a sign of renewed friendship.[1]

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[1] Kāmwar Khān, p. 163, Mirzā Muḥammad, 260, Wheeler 182, Khushḥāl Cand, 404*a*, 405*b*.

1. SKANDAPURĀNA. See cat., p. 141.

2. LANKĀVATĀRA.
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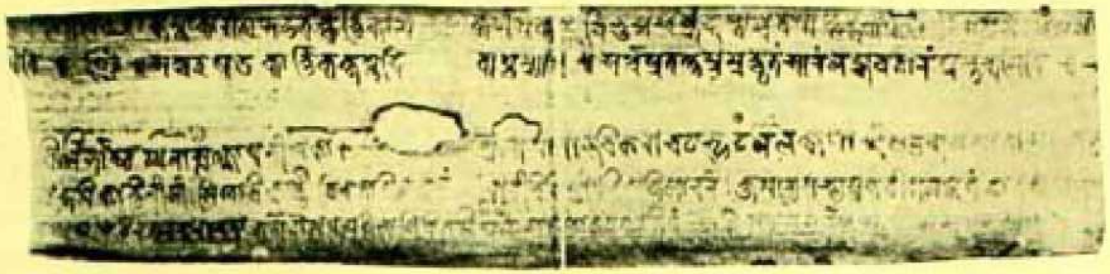

3 to 10.
LEAVES OF VAMŚĀVALI.

3. B.
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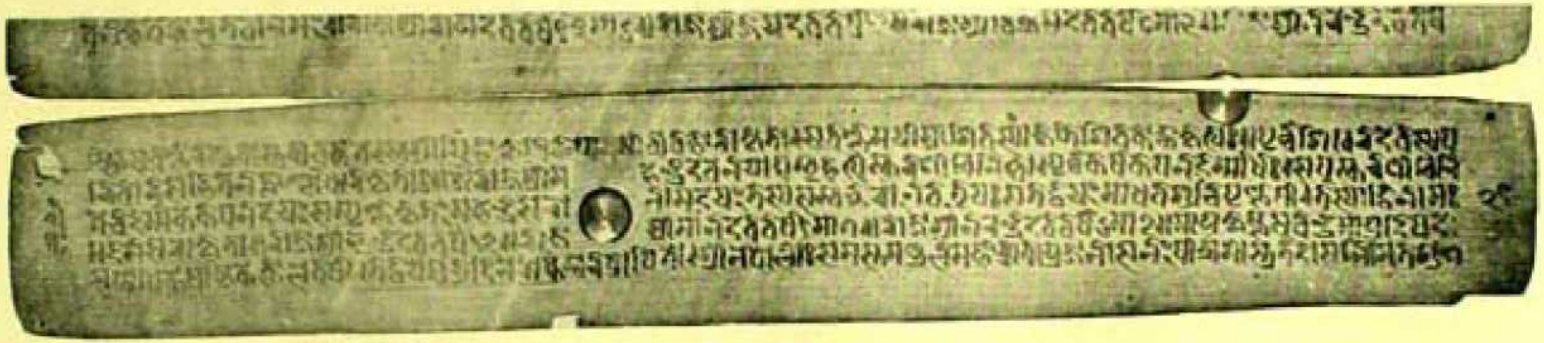

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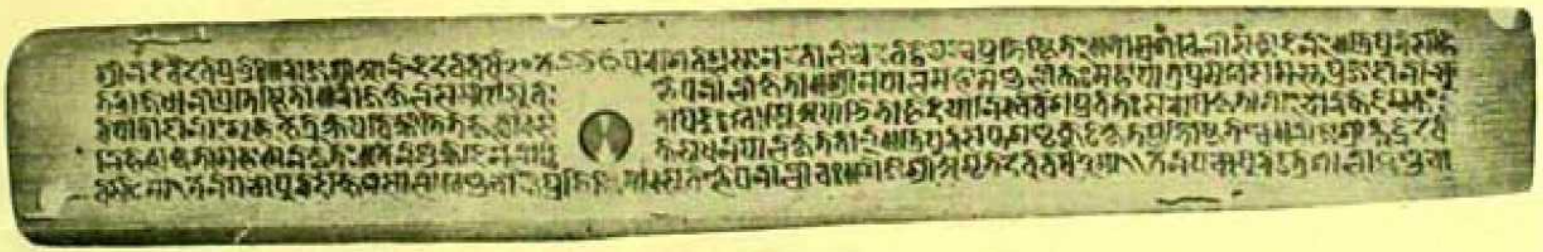

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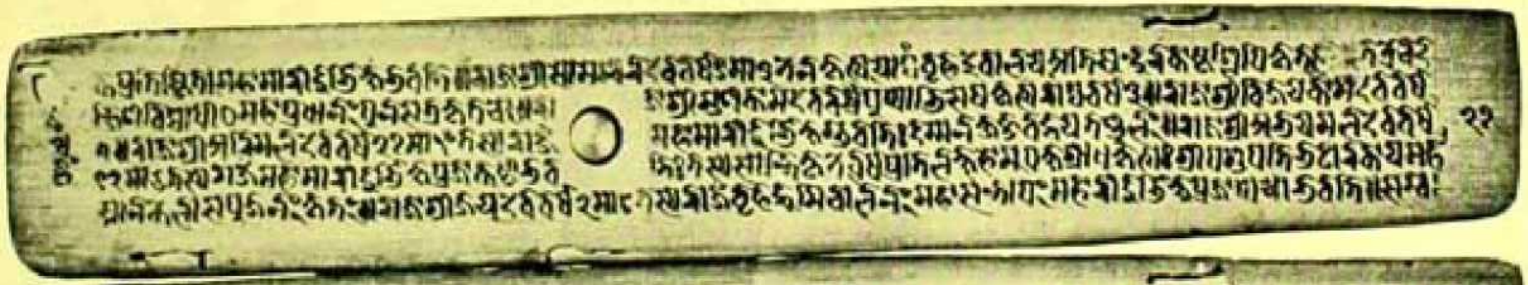

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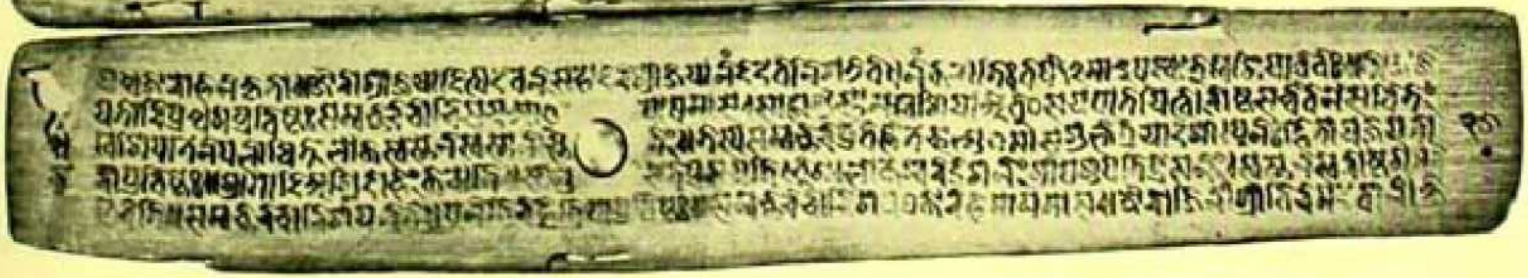

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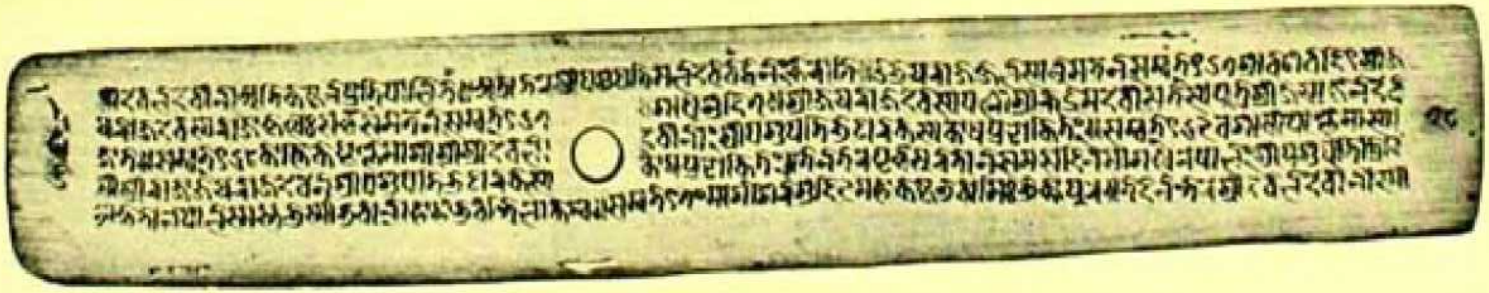

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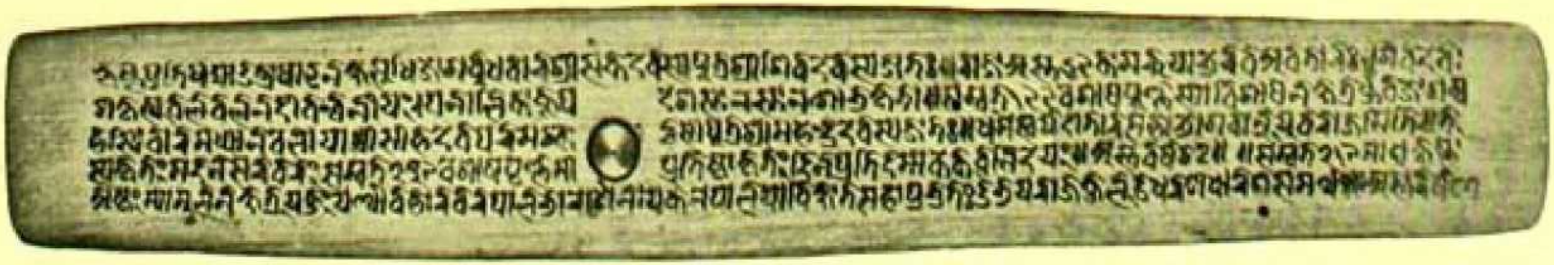

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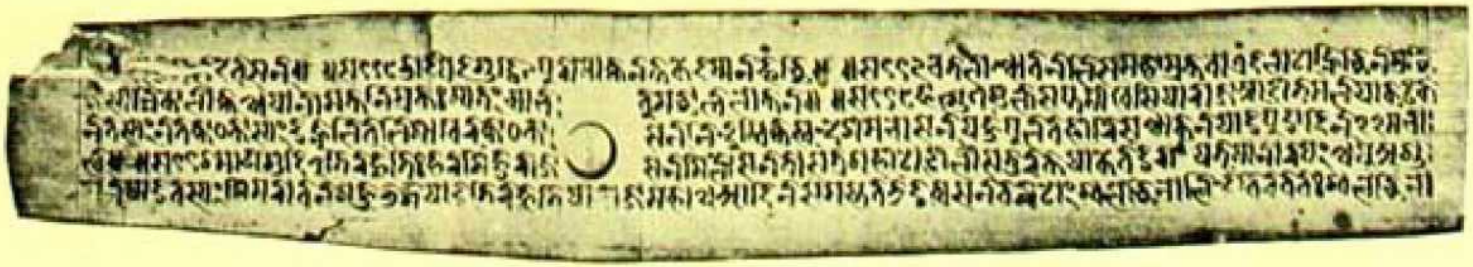

The Tibetan Language, and Recent Dictionaries.[1]—*By* E. H. C. Walsh, Esq., I.C.S.

[Read, November, 1903.]

Part I.

At the present time when matters connected with Tibet are occupying an unwonted amount of public attention, the Tibetan language is a matter of interest to more than the necessarily restricted circle of scholars, missionaries, or officials who are themselves acquainted with it. The Tibetan Dictionary, which after many years' labour has at length been completed, and has been published by the Government of Bengal, may therefore be supposed to interest that wider circle as shewing the latest that is known regarding the language of a people, with whom it is to be hoped we may be brought into closer relations of friendship and commerce in the future, than their strict exclusiveness has permitted in the past.

The present Dictionary, as is stated in the preface, was commenced in 1889, and Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur was placed by Government on special duty for its compilation. He completed his work in 1899 after ten years' labour, and his proofs then underwent revision, which occupied two years, by the Rev. Graham Sandberg, and the Rev. A. W. Heyde, the former of whom brought to bear the knowledge of the scholar; and the latter not only the knowledge of the scholar, but a practical knowledge of the spoken language based on many years' labours, as a Missionary on the Western borders of Tibet. As regards Rai Sarat Chandra Das's qualifications as a compiler little need be said. His name is sufficiently well known as a Tibetan scholar, and his experiences in his second adventurous journey in Tibet in 1881-82

[1] A Tibetan English Dictionary with Sanskrit synonyms, by Sarat Chandra Das, Rai Bahadur, C.I.E. Revised and edited under the orders of the Government of Bengal by Graham Sandberg, B.A., and A. William Heyde, Calcutta. Published by the Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, 1902.

have been recently published in his "Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet." [1]

The qualifications of the workmen are undoubted; it remains therefore to see to what extent and in what respects the present dictionary is an advance on its predecessors.

The Tibetans themselves have possessed dictionaries of their own language from very early times, from soon after the date of its first reduction to writing.

These lexicons, or lists of words, so far as any of them have been attainable, have been previously utilised by Jäschke in his Dictionary,[2] but they are not "dictionaries" in the accepted use of the term, as containing a complete list of the recognised words of the language, but rather lists of certain words, chiefly of Sanskrit importation, found in the early religious works, and which from the very fact of their not being generally known require explanation. Such lists are therefore of little value as regards the current language.

The earliest European Dictionary of Tibetan was compiled by the Capuchin Friars who were settled in Lhasa in the early half of the eighteenth century, two of whom, Francisco Orazio della Penna and Cassian di Macerata, sent home materials they had collected which were compiled by the Augustine Friar, Giorgi da Rimini, and published under the title of "Alphabetum Tibetanum" at Rome in 1762. The Tibetan characters for this work were drawn by Della Penna and were engraved. This also is an incomplete list of words, and many of which subsequent knowledge has shewn to be of doubtful accuracy. The next Dictionary of Tibetan was published at Serampur in 1826 at the expense of the East India Company, and Tibetan types were employed. This was edited by the Rev. John Marshman, from the notes of an unknown Italian Missionary whose manuscript came into the hands of Father Schroeter, a Missionary in Bengal, who merely transcribed the Italian into English. These manuscripts consisted of all the sentences that the unknown Italian Missionary could get transcribed by a native teacher, to which he had added extracts from the *Padma tangyig*, a series of popular legends about the Tibetan saint Padma Sambhava. The proofs had to be left unrevised as there was no Tibetan scholar to revise them. "Though richer in words than later dictionaries, the work cannot therefore be accepted as

[1] Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet, by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E. Edited by the Hon'ble Mr. Rockhill, London. John Murray, 1902.

[2] "A Tibetan English Dictionary, with special reference to the prevailing dialects." Prepared and published at the charge of the Secretary of State for India in Council. London, 1881.

an authority on any doubtful point."[1] The next Dictionary, and the first one which answers to the modern description of a dictionary, was that of Alexander Csoma de Körös, a Hungarian Missionary,[2] who also published a grammar of the language at the same time. This was also published at the expense of the Indian Government. This Dictionary of Csoma de Körös is the basis on which Jäschke founded his subsequent dictionaries, and on which therefore all subsequent dictionaries may be said to have been built.

Csoma de Körös, however, adopted an alphabetical arrangement of the letters, which differed from that employed by the Tibetans themselves, and from the scientific construction of the language, and which has consequently been abandoned by Schmidt and Jäschke and subsequent writers who have followed the natural order of the letters, namely, that adopted by the Tibetans themselves. The manner in which Csoma de Körös departed from the natural order was by arranging words commencing with a prefix or superscribed letter, according to the alphabetical order of the prefix or superscribed letter. For those not acquainted with Tibetan it is necessary to explain that there are in Tibetan five prefixes (ག་ ད་ བ་ མ་ འ་) *ga, da, ba, ma, a*, which, though written, and in spelling treated as a separate syllable, are never pronounced, except where the word, which they commence, forms the second portion of a compound word, of which the first portion ends in a vowel, when they are sounded, by a process corresponding to the *liaison* in French, with the exception that it is the first letter of the following word that is sounded instead of the last letter of the preceding one, in the French *liaison*. As an example: བཞི་—*Bzhi* "four," is pronounced *shi*, and བཅུ་—*Bchu* "ten," is pronounced *chu* when occurring as a single word. When the two words form a compound together it its pronounced not *chu-shi* "fourteen" or *shi-chu* "forty," but *chubshi* and *shibchu*. Similarly, there are three superscribed letters— ར་ ལ་ ས་ *r, l*, and *s*, which, in Central Tibetan, are also silent except in the case of ར *r* and ལ *l*, where the word they commence forms the second factor in a compound word, when they are sounded; ར with its own sound of *r* and ལ *l*, with the sound of *n*.

Thus, in case of the two words taken for an example above, Csoma

1 Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie, in the Encyclopedia Brittanica.

2 Essay towards a dictionary, Tibetan and English. Alexander Csoma de Körös, Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1834.

de Körös classifies each as beginning with བ་ *b*, but the Tibetans, regarding the prefixes and the superscribed letters as merely adjuncts, treat these words as beginning with ཞ་ *zh* and ཅ་ *ch* respectively, which is the arrangement now universally followed.

Although Csoma de Körös had lived for years as a monk in a Tibetan Monastery in order to fit himself for his work, and must have acquired an intimate knowledge of the spoken language, his dictionary is confined to the literary language only, and founded on the Kangyur and other classical books, the language of which, as will be presently noticed, bears little resemblance to the language of the present day. The reason was that he was writing for philologists, and scholars of Buddhist writings, but it is a great pity that his undoubted knowledge of the Western Dialect, at any rate, of the modern language, has thus been lost.

The next Tibetan Dictionary was published at St. Petersburg by Professor J. J. Schmidt in 1841.[1] This was practically an adaptation of Csoma de Körös by translating it from English into German, though with the addition of a number of Mongolian words derived from three Mongolian Dictionaries; but in other respects it cannot be considered as much of an advance on Csoma's Dictionary except that, as already noticed, the words were arranged in their natural order. Professor Schmidt had also published a Tibetan Grammar[2] in 1839. In 1858, Prof. Ph. Foucaux, who had already translated several Tibetan works, the Tibetan characters of which were lithographed, published a Tibetan Grammar in Paris.[3] In 1881, the Rev. H. A. Jäschke's Dictionary appeared, which up to the present time has been the standard work on the Tibetan language. This work was a revised edition of a Tibetan-German Dictionary which appeared in a lithographed form between the years 1871 and 1876, and which embodied the materials which he and his colleagues in the Moravian Mission at Kyelang in British Lahoul had been engaged in collecting since 1857.

As it is, therefore, by comparison with Jäschke's Dictionary that the advance made by the Dictionary now under review must be chiefly judged, it is necessary to consider in what respect Jäschke's Dictionary was an advance on all its predecessors. In the first place it is much fuller and more copious; authorities and examples are quoted in support of the literary words; the alphabetical arrangement of the words, as

1 Tibetisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch. St. Petersburg, 1841.

2 Grammatik des Tibetischen Sprache.

3 Grammaire Thibetaine.

already noted, is in scientific order; and most important of all, it incorporates the colloquial and business language of the present day, and also differentiates between the words and idioms in use in Central Tibet and those peculiar to, or prevalent in the Western Dialects, with which the Moravian Mission was chiefly concerned. To quote from the preface, his studies were with the object of making a translation of the Bible into Tibetan, and for this purpose to ascertain "the exact range of words in their ordinary and common usage" for which purpose he traced them through their consecutive historical applications till he "reached their last signification in their modern equivalents, as these are embodied in the provincial dialects of our own time;" and he further exemplified the usages of such words with copious illustrations and examples.

Though, as has been already said, Jäschke represents the sum total of our knowledge of the Tibetan language up to the compilation of the present Dictionary, and was the ground-work on which the compiler and revisers of the present Dictionary framed their work, there was being written at the same time another Dictionary, from an entirely independent source, which the author and revisers had not seen, and were not acquainted with. This was the Dictionary in Tibetan, Latin, and French of Father Desgodins [1] published at Hongkong in 1899.

This Dictionary was commenced in 1852 by M. Renou, the founder of the French Tibetan Mission, on the Chinese Frontier. When Csoma de Körös' Dictionary appeared, M. Fage, one of the Mission, united in one manuscript the words of Csoma's Dictionary, and also added the results of their own independent investigations. At the same time he altered the alphabetical arrangement of the words to that followed by the Tibetans which, as has been already alluded to, was subsequently but quite independently done by Jäschke in his Dictionary. In 1883 Father Desgodins left the Chinese Frontier of Tibet and founded the Catholic Mission at Pedong, on the borders of Sikhim, in the Kalimpong Sub-Division of Darjeeling. He then obtained a copy of Jäschke's Dictionary which had been recently published, and noted all that he found new in Jäschke on to M. Fage's Dictionary, as noted up to date by the Mission. The additional matter derived from this source is marked in the dictionary by a letter (J.), and it is interesting to note how few words or phrases bear this mark, which shews the similarity of the results obtained by two entirely independent sets of scholars, working the one at the extreme Eastern and the other at the extreme Western frontiers of Tibet.

[1] Dictionaire Thibetain-Latin-Français, par les Missionaires Catholiques du Thibet-Honkong-Imprimerie de la Société des Missions Etrangères. 1899.

Although this Dictionary was published at Hongkong in 1899, copies did not reach this country till some time later. Towards the end of 1901, I had the opportunity of comparing this Dictionary of M. Desgodins with the proofs of certain portions of the Dictionary now under review, and found that it contained a certain number of words that did not occur in the present Dictionary. I therefore suggested both to Rai Sarat Chandra Das, and to the Rev. Mr. Heyde, that it would be useful if a comparison of the two dictionaries were made, and any words found in Desgodins' Dictionary that do not occur in the present one were added as an appendix at the end, for reference; as, even if not accepted as correct, they would serve as a basis for further research and enquiry.

The compiler and reviser, however, both thought that this was not desirable. It certainly appears to be a pity that this could not have been done. Had these words been published as an appendix, stating the source from which they were taken, the compiler and revisers would have incurred no responsibility for their correctness, and those using the Dictionary would have had the opportunity of checking them by the test of usage. It is probable that so far as they are not known on this side of Tibet, they are words in use in the dialects of the Eastern provinces where, as already noted, the earlier materials for M. Fage's dictionaries were collected, and where Father Desgodins himself laboured for more than thirty years.

The consideration of this question leads to two other questions of importance, namely: (1) what authority is requisite for the acceptance of words in colloquial use; and (2) to what extent are the variations of dialect to be recognised in a Standard Tibetan Dictionary.

As regards the first of these questions it must be borne in mind that the modern and colloquial language of Tibet differs so entirely, except in the case of comparatively few words and expressions, from the classical literary language, as to constitute almost two distinct languages; and also that there is practically no Tibetan literature in the current colloquial of the day.

The authority for the meaning or usage of current words cannot therefore be based, as in other languages, on their acceptance in the writings of the country, and must be accepted on personal authority until they can be checked by other observers.

It is, in fact, the chief defect of the present Dictionary that it does not distinguish between words that are purely literary, those which while literary are at the same time also in current use, and those which are purely current and colloquial.

It is true that the author "has marked such words as he considers

archaic, or gone out of present use, with a Swastika (卐)"; but the total number of words so marked is only 188 words in large type and 65 words and expressions under small type; a total of 263 words, in the whole Dictionary of 1353 pages; so that this indication is of little value, and it is difficult to see on what ground these particular words have been selected rather than others.

It is not implied, by the above remarks, that the present Dictionary does not contain the colloquial language at all. It does so, and to a larger extent than previous dictionaries, but what is colloquial is not distinguished from what is literary.

It may be argued that in a Tibetan-English Dictionary this is not so necessary as it would be in an English-Tibetan Dictionary, inasmuch as the person who looks for any word, himself knows the source from which he has obtained it. This may be so, but at the same time, the person who hears for the first time a colloquial word spoken by a common Tibetan, if he succeeds in finding it in the Dictionary, would like to know whether it were also an accepted word in literature, and the person looking out a word found in a book would at the same time like to know whether it is a word which would be understood if he used it in ordinary conversation.

As shewing the complete divergence between the literary and spoken languages, we cannot do better than translate the following passage from M. Desgodins' preface to his Grammar of spoken Tibetan.[1] Speaking of the early writers who formed the literary language from the seventh century of our era onwards, he says: "They have formed for Tibet a sacred language. This language has never been understood except by those who have made a special study of it; it has not penetrated into the usage of the people, who have preserved their own dialects and their own *patois*, leaving to rare scholars, lamas, or laymen, the care of reading, understanding and explaining, if they are able, the sacred books. These scholars themselves never speak as their books are written, and if anyone were to speak this language to them, either they would not understand him, or they would say, "One writes in that way, but speaks quite differently.'"

As regards any but these rare scholars, one may confidently endorse the first alternative and say that no one else if so addressed would understand the language at all.

In considering this divergence, it will be well to give a brief outline of the growth of the Tibetan literary language from the time when

[1] Essai de Grammaire Thibétaine, pour la langage parlée, par A. Desgodins. Hongkong. Imprimerie de Nazareth. 1899.

Thonmi Sambhota, the minister of king Srongtsan Gampo, returned to Tibet after studying the Sanskrit language at Magadha, and introduced the art of writing, in the early part of the seventh century. It must always be borne in mind that the original object of introducing the art of writing into Tibet was to propagate the Buddhist religion which had been officially adopted by that country, by the translation into Tibetan of the Buddhist writings which existed in India in Sanskrit.

Jäschke divides the period of literary activity into two parts, and we cannot do better than quote his reference to them in the Preface of his Dictionary.

"The first is the Period of Translations, which, however, might also be entitled the Classical Period, for the sanctity of the religious message conferred a corresponding reputation and tradition of excellence upon the form in which it was conveyed. This period begins in the first half of the seventh century when Thon-mi Sambhota, the minister of king Srongtsan Gampo, was sent to India to learn Sanskrit. His invention of the Tibetan alphabet gave a two-fold impulse: for several centuries the wisdom of India and the ingenuity of Tibet laboured in unison and with the greatest industry and enthusiasm at the work of translation. The tribute due to real genius must be awarded to these early pioneers of Tibetan Grammar. They had to grapple with the infinite wealth and refinement of Sanskrit, they had to save the independence of their own tongue, while they strove to subject it to the rule of scientific principles; and it is most remarkable how they managed to produce translations at once literal and faithful to the spirit of the original. The first masters had made for their later disciples a comparatively easy road, for the style and contexts of the writings with which the translators had to deal present very uniform features. When once typical patterns had been furnished it was possible for the literary manufacture to be extended by a sort of mechanical process." "A considerable time elapsed before natives of Tibet began to indulge in compositions of their own. When they did so, the subject-matter chosen by them to operate upon, was either of a historical or of a legendary kind. In this second period the language shews much resemblance to the modern tongue, approaching most closely the present idiom of Central Tibet. We find a greater freedom in construction, a tendency to use abbreviated forms (thus the mere verbal root is often inflected in place of a complete infinitive) and a certain number of new grammatical combinations."

This second period commenced about the year 1025 A.D., and may be said to have continued down to the end of the seventeenth century.

It contains the works of the Tibetan saints Milaraspa and Atisa and various others who followed them.

To these two periods, Sarat Chandra Das adds a third, commencing from the establishment of the Dalai Lama's Sovereignty over the whole of Tibet in the beginning of the eighteenth century. With regard to this more recent period he remarks: "Neither he (Jäschke) nor Csoma de Körös had any means or opportunities of studyiug either the current literature of every-day business, or the refined idiomatic literature of Tibet itself, which is quite distinct from the Indian literature that was imported into the language. They do not seem to have ever during the course of their study of Tibetan come across works on drama, fiction, correspondence, &c. It is, therefore, no wonder that the compiler of the later Dictionary should assign only two periods to the history of the literature of Tibet, entirely ignoring the third which is indeed not the least important of the three."

We do not know what books Rai Sarat Chandra Das may be referring to as "the current literature of every-day business," but think that he must have employed a term which is unintentionally misleading, as, so far as I am aware, no current books that would answer such a description exist. Rai Sarat Chandra Das brought a large number of books with him from Lhasa, a catalogue of which was published; but there is no book in that list that would answer to such a description.

As regards "correspondence," Rai Sarat Chandra Das has obtained a large amount of entirely new matter, which has been published by Government separately under the title of "Yig Kur Nam Shag" (ཡིག་བསྐུར་རྣམ་གཞག), being a collection of letters, both official and private, and illustrating the different forms of correspondence used in Tibet. The first part of this book consists of copies of the original letters, chiefly official, issued by the minister Sheda, also known as Pishipa, the minister who favoured Abbés Huc and Gabet during their visit to Lhasa in 1846. These letters are among the papers in the State offices at Lhasa, but Rai Sarat Chandra Das was able to obtain copies of them through the kindness of the two sons of another minister, Shape Phala, whose guest he had been at Lhasa. The second part consists of letter-forms, partly composed and partly compiled by the late Lama Sherab Gyatsho, Head Lama of Ghoom Monastery; and the third part is a popular complete letter writer intended for business and ordinary correspondence, a copy of which was obtained by Mr. A. W. Paul, C.I.E., Political Officer of the Sikhim expedition of 1888, among the things which the Tibetans left behind in their flight.

It must, however, be borne in mind that although a large number

of current words and new colloquial phrases have been added in the present Dictionary, this has been, so to speak, incidental; the primary object of the Dictionary and its scope being purely literary. This is clearly stated in the Preface. The Dictionary owed its inception to the recommendation of Csoma de Körös in the preface to his Dictionary, in 1834, that at a further date "the Tibetan Dictionary may be much improved, enlarged, and illustrated by the addition of Sanskrit terms." "In the year 1889," says Sarat Chandra Das, "I brought these opinions of that original investigator to the notice of Sir Alfred Croft, K.C.I.E., the then Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, and explained to him the necessity of compiling a Tibetan-English Dictionary on the lines indicated by Csoma de Körös, and particularly to assist European scholars in the thorough exploration of the vast literature of Tibet." This new matter was also based on four dictionaries of classical Tibetan which Rai Sarat Chandra Das brought with him from Tibet.

The reason for the existence of these Sanskrit terms in the old literary Tibetan, as has been already noticed, is that all the earlier Tibetan literature consists of translations from Sanskrit works on the Buddhist religion. These early books were written in a series of triplets of lines.

The centre line being generally the Sanskrit, the upper line the phonetic sound of the Sanskrit in Tibetan (a phonetic transliteration), and the bottom line the translation of the Sanskrit into Tibetan. This is the usual arrangement, though the Sanskrit is also sometimes the top line of the three. The transliterated words of the upper line are what form the "Sanskrit terms," and the interest that attaches to these Sanskrit terms in Tibetan is that the translation then given shews what was held to be the meaning in the seventh century of various philosophical terms, whose exact meaning may have since become altered or uncertain. This interest, however, is purely literary and philosophical.

In addition to these actually transliterated Sanskrit words, there are a number of Sanskrit synonyms. These Sanskrit equivalents, as is stated in the Reviser's Preface, have been taken from one celebrated Sanskrit-Tibetan Dictionary, and supplemented by Pandit Satish Chandra Acharya Vidyabhushan, who has also in numerous instances appended a literal English rendering of the Sanskrit terms.

It is difficult to estimate exactly the amount of new matter which the present Dictionary contains as compared with its predecessor Jäschke and its contemporary Desgodins.

It contains 1353 pages as compared with 608 in Jäschke's (Tibetan-English portion) and 1087 in Desgodins. Such comparison is however misleading, as owing to different size of type and spacing the amount of

printed matter on the page is different in each. Taking the average of a certain number of similar pages in each of the three dictionaries, I find that Sarat Chandra Das's contains 571 words to the page, Jäschke's 696 and Desgodins' 325 ; and correcting according to this standard, Jäschke's 608 pages are equivalent to 743 of the present Dictionary, while Desgodin's 1087 pages are only equivalent to 618, and Jäschke's 608 pages contains more printed matter than Desgodin's 1087. Even thus, however, this comparison by bulk would be somewhat misleading owing to the fact that Desgodins' Dictionary is written in Latin as well as French ; so that for every word or example given there is first the Latin equivalent and then the French, which would reduce the matter by one-third if the dictionary were only bi-lingual as in the case of the other two. But, against this, on the other hand, must be set the fact that in Desgodins' the Tibetan words and examples are only printed in the Tibetan character, while in Sarat Chandra Das's besides being printed in the Tibetan character they are followed by their transliteration in the English character, which takes up a corresponding space.

For a similar reason the comparison by bulk between the present Dictionary and Jäschke's would be misleading, as in Jäschke's only the original word is printed in the Tibetan character, all phrases and examples given under it being given in their transliteration only ; so that the real difference in the matter between Jäschke's and the present Dictionary is not nearly so great as a comparison by bulk would appear to imply. However, putting aside the exact amount, there is no doubt that the present Dictionary contains a vast amount of new matter. It remains to see of what it consists.

Here I would remark that it is a great pity that new words not to be found in Jäschke have not been distinguished by any mark, which could very easily have been done, and would have involved no extra labour at the time of compilation.

The extra matter therefore consists of—

(1) a large number of new literary words, and authorities, and examples of their use, compiled by Rai Sarat Chandra Das.

(2) a collection of Sanskrit equivalents to the literary words made by Dr. A. Schiefner. These are marked by an asterisk.

(3) Sanskrit Synonyms added by Pandit Satis Chandra Acharya Vidyabhushan.

(4) a large number of fresh authorities for previously existing literary words and examples of their use.

(5) a number of current words collected by Rai Sarat Chandra Das, with examples of their use.

(6) a certain number of additional current words added by the Revisers. With regard to these last two, it is a still greater pity that they were not marked by some distinguishing sign.

(7) Philosophical explanations of Buddhistic religious terms.

(8) Information of what may be termed an Encyclopedic character.

It is perhaps under this last head that the chief amount of additional matter may be said to fall.

To take a couple of concrete examples of common words. Under དུས་ *dus*, "time," in Jäschke's we find four columns equivalent to nearly five columns of the present Dictionary. In Desgodins' (including དུས་འཁོར་ དུས་ཐུབ་ and དུས་ཆེགས་ which in the other dictionaries fall under དུས་) we find nearly three columns, equivalent to less than two columns of the present Dictionary, whereas the present Dictionary gives seven-and-a-half columns. Again, take the common word རྟ་ *rta*, "a horse," in Jäschke's we find rather more than two columns, equivalent to two-and-a-half columns of the present Dictionary; in Desgodins' four-and-three-quarter columns, equivalent to two-and-a-half columns of the present Dictionary; whereas in the present Dictionary we find nearly seven columns, which contain (*inter alia*) besides various literary references, a list of mythical medicinal properties which various parts of a horse are supposed to possess, some zoological information about the horse-ibex (རྟ་ཐྲིན་) and where specimens of it have been found; some geographical information about the source of the River Brahmaputra (རྟ་ མཆོག་ཁ་འབབ་) "*the horse-mouth river;*" and the life of a Buddhist saint རྟ་དབངས་ *Rta Dbangs*. The first two are new, but the two latter occur in Jäschke but with only a brief reference.

To go more into detail, under the heading of "*Horse*" in the present Dictionary there are 80 separate words and phrases explained, besides 41 synonyms referred to. Of these synonyms 17 are for "*horse*" 8 for a mythical horse of Indra, 4 for "*rider*," 5 for "*foal*," and 7 for "*horse tail*," the name of a medicinal plant. Of these 80 words and phrases 41 occur in Jäschke, who also has 30 other words not included, 25 of which are names for the various colours of a horse; and 22 occur in Desgodins, who also has 34 other words not included in the present

Dictionary, of which 23 are names of the various colours of a horse, and also 8 synonyms for "*horse*" are given. I have noticed the entries under this one word in detail, because being an ordinary word it serves as a typical example of the difference between the three dictionaries. In the case of words of a Religious or Philosophical meaning the articles in the present Dictionary are in most cases not merely an explanation of the word, but short essays on the subject. As typical examples of these I would cite the words གང་ཟག་ I. *gang-zag*, "*an animated being*," ཐེག་པ་ II. *theg-pa*, "*a method of doctrine*," and རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ *rten hbrel*, "*inter-dependence of causes.*" In the case of names of places also, besides the reference, some information with respect to them is almost invariably given.

To sum up, as a Dictionary of the literary language, no praise is too great both for the labour and research of the compiler; and for the care and sound judgment of the Revisers; and the excellence of the result obtained well rewards them for their labours. The assistance given by Pandit Satis Chandra Acharya in the Revision of the Sanskrit synonyms has already been referred to; but a notice of the present Dictionary would be incomplete without a word of praise to two other collaborators whose names may be overlooked, as they do not appear in either the Authors or Reviser's Prefaces, but whose aid is fully acknowledged in the Tibetan dedication on the Title pages—Lama Sherab Gyatsho, the late head Lama of the Ghoom Monastery, a Mongolian of great erudition in all Tibetan literature and lore; and also Rai Lama Ugyen Gyatsho Bahadur, originally a Lama of the Pemiongchi Monastery in Sikhim, and whose services were subsequently obtained when the Bhutea School in Darjeeling was founded, as its first Tibetan teacher, who was the companion of Rai Sarat Chandra Das in both his journeys in Tibet, and who also materially assisted him in the compilation of the Dictionary.

Before closing this reference to the existing dictionaries, a further tribute of appreciation and thanks is due from all students of Tibetan to M. Desgodins and the French missionaries before him, who since 1852 have been steadily labouring to accumulate, test, and revise the material which has now been published in his Dictionary, and which has brought to light a great number of words and expressions not formerly ascertained or recorded. The authority for these necessarily rests on that of the compilers, but we may accept their assurance in the Preface that no word has been admitted except after severe and repeated tests by independent persons, of its correctness and use. This Dictionary

will have a special value when the Standard Dictionary of Modern Tibetan comes to be compiled.

Part II.

From what has been already said, it will be seen that although the present Dictionary has fulfilled what it purposed to be, namely, a complete Dictionary of Literary Tibetan, so far as our present sources of knowledge go, it does not fulfil the requirements of a Standard Dictionary of the entire language, and the Standard Dictionary of the Modern and Current Tibetan language has yet to be written. As already noted, Literary Tibetan, of which probably three-fourths of the present Dictionary consists, is not intelligible to the modern Tibetan. One might as well address the Modern Londoner in the once literary language of Norman French, or, for comparison with later Tibetan literary works, in the later but still more or less unintelligible language of Langland, Mandeville, or Chaucer.

It therefore remains to see what a Dictionary of Current and Modern Tibetan should consist of. These requirements I propose now to consider.

(1) *All purely literary words and references should be excluded.*

(2) *The words and idioms taken as the Standard Tibetan should be those of the language of Lhasa and Central Tibet, and all variants from these in other dialects should bear a distinguishing mark shewing the dialect to which they belong.*

On this point it is perhaps necessary to notice briefly the question of dialects. Even with our present knowledge of this subject, the number of different dialects prevalent in different parts of Tibet is very large, and a further acquaintance with the country would doubtless disclose many more. Desgodins who had himself many years' acquaintance both with the dialects of the Eastern Provinces, and also those of Central Tibet, as spoken by the merchants who come over the Darjeeling Frontier, has referred to this difficulty in the Preface to his Grammar of Spoken Tibetan, to which I have already referred; and I cannot do better than translate the following extract carrying, as it does, the weight of his authority. "Even if there were, as in China, a sort of Mandarine language known and spoken almost everywhere! But no; every country has its dialect or its particular patois. All that one can affirm is that the dialects of the two Eastern Provinces, Khams and Ü, have sufficient affinity between themselves; while they differ considerably from those of the Western Provinces, Tsang and Ngari. These differences are sufficiently great for an inhabitant of Tashilhunpo who arrives for the first time at Bathang or Tachienlu to be obliged to take a Tibetan

interpreter to be able to speak Tibetan with his hosts. However, after some time Easterners and Westerners end by understanding one another. If there are differences in the use of words in the turn and terminations of phrases, in the pronunciation, etc., there are also resemblances, general usages, pronunciations which resemble more or less and indicate a common origin, one same language; but it is this which practice alone can distinguish."

The language of Lhasa and Central Tibet does, however, to a great extent supply this common language, and it has been aptly termed the *lingua franca* of Eastern and Northern Central Asia.

The reason for this lies mainly in the vast central university which the three great monasteries of Sera, Depung, and Gaden, in the immediate neighbourhood of Lhasa, form for the priesthood from all parts of Tibet, and even from Mongolia, Higher Asia, and China; and to a less degree, to the great number of pilgrims that visit Lhasa from all parts of Tibet.

I have myself made certain enquiries as to the mutual intelligibility of Central Tibetan, Sharpa, Sikhim, and Bhutanese languages.[1] I have consulted several Tibetans about the mutual differences between them and their relative intelligibility to one another. The general opinion is that, taking Central Tibetan as the Standard, the Bhutanese is the least intelligible of these four to persons of the other languages.

A Bhutanese will understand a Tibetan better than the Tibetan will understand him, but they can make themselves mutually understood.

A Sharpa would at first hardly understand a Bhutanese at all; as in their case the variation from the Central Tibetan is in another direction.

A Bhutanese will understand a Sikhimite more easily than the Sikhimite will understand him; as the Sikhim language is spoken more slowly and distinctly, but they are mutually understood. Between the Sikhim language and Central Tibetan there is great resemblance, and they readily understand each other. The Sikhim language is spoken more slowly and the consonants are more distinctly sounded.

A comparative list of a number of Tibetan, Sharpa, and Bhutanese words have been given by Hodgson in his comparative Vocabulary of the several languages or dialects of the Eastern Sub-Himalayas.[2]

[1] On this subject see also pages 330-332, Census of India, 1901. Volume VI, Bengal. Part I. Report. Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1902.

[2] J. A. S. B. 1844: and "The Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet," by B. H. Hodgson. Trübner and Co., 1874.

I have referred to these dialects to shew that the main difference is one of pronunciation and idiom, and, as Desgodins says of the man from Tashilhunpo who arrives at Tachienlu, "After some time the Easterner and Westerner end by understanding one another."

Another reason why Central Tibetan is the best language for the foreigner to take as the colloquial standard is that the pronunciation is far more difficult than in the other dialects, owing to the large number of silent letters, which are sounded to a much greater extent in the outlying dialects; so that the foreigner who has learnt as his colloquial the central language will have less difficulty in learning from it the more easily pronounced dialects than he would by the reverse process.

Apart from the above reasons, Central Tibetan should be the standard because it is the language of Government and of official and general correspondence throughout the country.

(3) *There should be a carefully prepared comparative table giving the pronunciation of every letter and combination in each of the known dialects.*

Jäschke gives such a table in his Dictionary for certain of the dialects of Western Tibet, and also marks words and phrases peculiar to those languages in his Dictionary with a (W.), but this is for a portion only, and how different is the pronunciation in the eastern dialects will be seen from the table of pronunciation which Desgodins prefixes to his Dictionary, where many of the pronunciations given, though not specially stated, are clearly those of Eastern Tibet.

(4) *There should be a recognised standard of spelling of colloquial words, which, where the word is also found in literature, should be the literary spelling (as given in Jäschke's Dictionary).*

This condition may appear to a person not acquainted with the Tibetan language to be self-evident and unnecessary, but as a matter of fact it is not so.

In Tibetan "things are not what they seem," and the pronunciation of a word gives, within certain limits, little clue as to its spelling.

When *Skra* ("hair") is pronounced "ṭa," *D-Bus* is pronounced *ü*, *Grogs* is "*ḍo*," *spyod* is "*cho*," and *A-Bras-Ljong* is "*Denjong*," and where the mountain *Kangchenjanga* ("*Kinchenjunga*") is spelt *Gangs-Chhen-Mzod-Lnga*; and where any one of these words as sounded could have equally well, phonetically, have been correctly spelt in a variety of different ways, it will be seen that spelling in Tibetan, especially in the central dialect, presents a difficulty to the learner such as is not met with in any other language. I will give an actual example. The word "*ready*," pronounced "*tandi*," is spelt གྲལ་སྒྲིག *Gral-Sgrig* in Hen-

derson's Vocabulary[8]; while in Jäschke, Desgodins and in the present Dictionary this same word is spelt དཔལ་གྲིག *Phral-Grig*, and in either case pronounced the same. The latter is, in this case, the correct spelling.

Spelling and pronunciation are in fact the chief difficulties in learning Tibetan. As regards the former, the two or three examples already given to some extent shew this, and it is perhaps not too much to say that the spelling of almost every word has to be individually known. As regards the latter, the difficulty is the number of similarly sounded but differently spelt words with different meanings, and also the system of tones by which the tone in which a word is pronounced is according to its spelling high or low pitched. The Tibetans divide all words into two broad classes, low toned which are called ཕོ *pho* "male," and high toned which are called མོ *mo* "female," the one supposed to represent the deep toned voice of a man and the other the higher pitched voice of a woman; but between these two there comes another, མ་ནིང *ma-ning*, "medium," and there are also further modifications of these two broad classes. The right mastering of tones, a system so entirely strange to the Europeans, is essential to a knowledge of spoken Tibetan.

(5) *The present system of translation of the Tibetan alphabet must be modified.*

The present Dictionary has followed the system adopted finally at the Vienna Congress of Orientalists, for Sanskrit and allied alphabets. This system, however, has the drawback that in certain cases letters are selected to represent oriental letters which do not themselves correspond in sound with them, and hence a conventional diacritical mark is added to indicate that such letter is conventionally used to represent a particular sound; such letters are *ń* for ང་ *nga*; *ña* for ཉ་ *nya*; *sha* for ཞ་ *zha*; *ṣa* for ཤ་ *sha*; and *ha* for ཧ་ *a*. Every one of these should be changed, and in each case the letter be transliterated so as to represent its actual sound. As will be seen, there is no difficulty in doing this.

One single objection is sufficient to condemn for practical purposes a system so artificial, namely, that there is no finality about it. These may

[8] Tibetan Manual compiled by Vincent C. Henderson. Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs. Revised by Edward Amundsen. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1903.

be the accepted symbols to-day, but the fashion may change, and in fact has done so since Jäschke wrote his Dictionary in 1881, where it will be found that five out of these six letters are represented by a different symbol, and the only symbol in which they agree, namely ç, has itself been since abandoned by orientalists, and ś substituted. The Asiatic Society of Bengal up to the present has adopted another system of transliteration for these letters, which it has only within the last few months altered to that approved by the International Oriental Congress of 1894, which is the system followed by the Royal Asiatic Society in England.

The confusion produced by this "multitude of councillors" will be best gathered from the following comparative table in which I give the transliteration I propose in the last column.

Tibetan letter.	Jäschke.	Present Dictionary.	Asiatic Society Bengal.	Royal Asiatic Society.	Proposed Transliteration.
ང་	ṅ	ṅ	ŋ	ṅ	ng
ཉ་	ny	ñ	ñ	ñ	ny
ཞ་	ż	sh	ṣ	ṣ	zh
ཌ་	ó	ḫ	...	...	ṅ
ཤ་	ç	ç	ç	ś	sh
ཨ་	'a	a	...	...	ā

In the above tables ཌ and ཨ have been left blank under the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Royal Asiatic Society, as no transliteration appears to be prescribed, and the transliteration followed in any case would therefore be that followed by the contributor.

Apart from the want of finality, there is also the great opportunity for error due to the omission in copying or printing of the small diacritical mark which alone distinguishes the one letter from the other.

A word further in support of the system of transliteration which I propose.

There is no possibility of ambiguity or error. The separate letters ན *n* and ག *g* never follow each other; *ng* ང can therefore never be mistaken for them. Similarly ན *n* is never followed by ཡ *y*; nor ཟ *z* by ཧ *h*; nor ས *s* by ཧ *h*; so that *ny* for ཉ, *zh* for ཞ, and *sh* for ཤ cannot present any ambiguity or be mistaken for anything else, and they have the advantage of representing the actual sound, which the present symbols do not.

As regards ཞ *zha*, it is true that in Lhasa, as noted by Jäschke, the difference in pronunciation between it and ཤ *sha* is one of tone rather than pronunciation. But the Lhasa man, though he will himself pronounce *sha* in a low tone and not *zha*, is accustomed to hear those from other parts pronounce it *zha* and understands it. But in all the outlying dialects it has the sound of *zha*. For the western dialects Jäschke gives it as *zha*, and states that it has "the sound of s in leisure." For the Southern dialects Lewin[1] gives it as *zha* and says it is pronounced like "z in azure." Desgodins, for the eastern dialects also gives it this sound and, writing in French, says it is pronounced as "*ja*" which is exactly the same.

It also is distinctly *zha* in Sikhim and the neighbouring southern dialects.

With regard to using *a* for འ; this, again, represents its actual sound, and the only letter with which it could be confused is ཨ *ā*; and here the long mark over the latter is sufficient distinction and one that has to be employed in all other Oriental languages to distinguish a long vowel from its corresponding short one. By this do not let me be misunderstood to imply that འ *a* and ཨ *ā* bear to each other the relation of corresponding long and short vowels. They are separate letters and bear no such relation, but the distinguishing long mark is one well known and employed in all oriental languages, and may equally be employed here, and it represents the difference between their actual sound, which the letters *h* and *a* now used do not.

[1] Manual of Tibetan, by Major T. H. Lewin, F.R.C.S. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1879.

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Also the use of *ḫ* for འ renders it liable to be confused with ཧ *h* with which it has no affinity in sound or otherwise.

Jäschke used a particular symbol for this letter when initial (a circle placed below the line), and when following a consonant he did not transliterate it separately at all.

(6). *There must be a Recognised System of Transcription (as distinct from Transliteration) of Tibetan names, and other words likely to be employed in English.*

From what has been already said regarding the Tibetan spelling, it is quite clear that the transliteration of a word will in most cases give no indication of its sound to a person not acquainted with the language. Who, for instance, in *Bkra-Shis-Lhun-po* (བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ་) would recognise the well known City of "Tashilhunpo," or in *Bka-Blon-Spung* (བཀའ་བློན་སྤུང་) the familiar "Kalimpong"?

It is therefore necessary to fix a standard system of transcription which shall be phonetic and represent the actual sound of the word, and at the same time be uniform. Such systems have been adopted by the Rev. Graham Sandberg in his Handbook of Colloquial Tibetan,[1] and by Rev. Edward Amundsen in his Primer of Standard Tibetan.[2] These are not, however, quite suited to the purpose of transcribing names and words that will require to be printed in newspapers, books of a general nature, as they contain certain special marks, and here also there is not uniformity. Thus the Rev. Graham Sandberg uses the comma above the line to indicate the omission of a silent consonant, while the Rev. Edward Amundsen employs this mark to indicate an aspirated letter.

All non-essential marks should be omitted. The only mark which is essential is the diaeresis (¨) in certain cases over the vowels *o* and *u*, which is a mark known to all printers and in general use and therefore presents no difficulties. It also exactly represents the pronunciation, which, in the words where it would be employed, is that known in all countries to be implied by this mark, namely, the *ö* and *ü* in German.

(7). *All Honorific words should bear a distinguishing mark, and against every common word the corresponding Honorific word should be noted, and similarly against every Honorific word, the corresponding common word.*

[1] Handbook of Colloquial Tibetan, by Graham Sandberg. Thacker Spink, Calcuta. 1894.

[2] Primer of Standard Tibetan, by Edward Amundsen. Printed at the Scandinavian Alliance Mission Press. Ghoom, Darjeeling. 1903.

It is perhaps necessary to note here that there are in Tibetan, what are practically two distinct languages running side by side, and each in current and regular use. The common, in which one addresses an inferior, and which the lower classes speak amongst themselves, and the Honorific (ཞེ་སར་) *zhe-sa*, in which any one addresses a superior, and in which the educated classes politely address one another. It is necessary to know both these, as in speaking of himself the speaker always uses the common form. It is not that the same word is employed but has a different respectful form, such as occurs, for example, in the case of verbs in Urdu. In Tibetan an entirely different word is used, and this equally as regards nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Thus, if I say to an inferior, "you have a fine horse," I would say ཁྱོད་ ཀྱི་ རྟ་ ཡག་ པོ་ རེད་ *khyod kyi rta yag-po red*, but to a superior or politely addressing an equal ཉིད་ རང་ གི་ ཆིབས་པ་ བཟང་ པོ་རེད་ *nyid rang gi chhibs-pa bzang-po red*, from which it will be seen that there is not a single word the same in two sentences.

I give below one or two common words to shew how complete the difference is.

	Common.		Honorific.	
eye	མིག	*mig*	སྤྱན	*spyan.*
nose	སྣ	*sna*	ཤངས	*shangs.*
mouth	ཁ	*kha*	ཞལ	*zhal.*
ear	རྣ	*rna*	སྙན	*snyan.*
or	ན་ཆོག	*na-chhog*		
Similarly				
to see	ཐོང་ བ་	*thong-wa*	གཟིགས་ པ་	*gzigs-pa*
to smell	སྣོམ་ པ་	*snom-pa*	ཤངས་སྣོམ་ པ་	*shangs snampa*
to eat	ཟ་ བ་	*za-wa*	བཞེས་ པ་	*bzhes-pa.*
to hear	གོ་ བ་	*go-wa*	གསན་ པ་	*gsan-pa.*
or	ཐོས་པ་	*thos-pa*		

From the examples given above it will be seen that, in respect of the words used, the Common and Honorific are practically two languages.

(8). *The Dictionary should also contain an English-Tibetan Vocabulary in which the Tibetan words may be written transliterated in the Roman Character with the reference against each to the page on which it is to be found in the Tibetan-English portion of the Dictionary, as in Jäschke's English-Tibetan Vocabulary.*

(9). *The Materials for such a Dictionary will be—*

(1) all colloquial and current words in Jäschke, Desgodins, and the present Dictionary.

(2) All words from recent Colloquial Primers or Grammars of the various dialects, which have not been included in the present dictionaries. Such are Henderson's Tibetan Manual; Amundsen's Primer of Standard Tibetan; Franke's Ladaki[1] Grammar.

(3) Printed lists in English of all the principal words in colloquial and current use, copies of which might be sent to various natives, missionaries, officials, and other local workers in Tibetan in various localities and dialects; and they might be asked to enter against each the words, if any, known to them or ascertained to be in general use.

These lists should for clearness provide two columns: one for the common, and the other for the Honorific word (where such exists).

With the above material there would be sufficient to compile a Standard Dictionary of the Colloquial and Current Language. These lists, on receipt, would be compared with the Central language which would be first compiled. Whenever the word in the dialectic lists agreed with the word in use in the Central language no separate entry would be made. Where it differed it would be entered with a letter indicating the dialect to which it belonged.

I have indicated the lines which such a Dictionary should take. Its compilation would be a very fitting object for Government to undertake. The Dictionaries of Csoma de Körös, Jäschke, and the present one of Rai Sarat Chandra Das, all owe their existence to Government aid, and it may be expected that Government will shew in the future the same enlightened and liberal spirit that it has done in the past.

With good arrangements for the collection of material, the compilation of such a Dictionary should not take much more than a year, and any cost and labour bestowed on it would be well repaid by the practical value of the results obtained.

[1] J.A.S.B., Volume LXX, Part I, Extra No. 2.—1901.

Notes on Chirānd in the District of Sāran.—*By* NUNDOLAL DEY,

Subordinate Judge of Jessore.

[Read June, 1903.]

Chirānd is six miles to the east of Chupra. It is situated on the bank of the river Saraju. The Ganges formerly flowed past the town. Sir William Hunter in 1877 placed Chirānd on the Ganges.[1] The old dry bed of the Ganges still exists immediately to the south of Chupra, and beyond it runs the Saraju. The Sone and the Saraju now join the Ganges at Singhi, two miles to the east of Chirānd.

Chirānd must at one time have been a celebrated place to have lent its name to Chupra, which is often called Chiran-Chupra by the people of other districts, Chiran being an abbreviation of the word Chirānd. Extensive mounds of earth, said to be the remains of an ancient fort, still exist at this place, and the hermitage of Rishi Chyavana and two very small tanks called Jiāch Kundu and Brahma Kundu in the *Chirānd-Māhātmya*, situated at different portions of the site of the fort, are pointed out as vestiges of the ancient Hindu period. A fair takes place every year on the last day of the month of Kārttik at the spot which is called Chyavana-āsrama.

Chirānd is popularly known as the capital of king Mayūradhvaja, and the tradition still exists that he and his queen sawed down their son in order to satisfy the craving for human flesh of Siva who came to the king in the disguise of an old Brāhman to test his generosity and charitable feeling for which he was celebrated, though he was afterwards restored to life by the satisfied god. But the tradition differs from the story given in the *Jaimini-Bhārata*[2] which places the capital of Mayūradhvaja at Ratnapura, near the Nerbuda, and relates that Krishna in the disguise of an old Brāhman came to the king and told him that his only

1 *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XI, p. 263.

2 Chapters 45 and 46.

son while coming to the town to marry the daughter of Krishna Sarmā, the priest of the king, was carried away by a lion which promised to release him in case he obtained the right half of Mayūradhvaja's body. Mayūradhvaja promised to give the right side of his body, and his head was cut off by his wife and his son Tāmradhvaja, by means of a saw (*ārā*), as preliminary to sever the right side of his body ; but the old Brāhman seeing that tears were trickling down the left eye of the severed head, refused to accept the right side of the body as, he stated, it was not given freely but in anguish, whereupon the severed head replied that the left side cried because it would perish uselessly without being of any service to a Brāhman. Krishna became highly satisfied with the answer : he revealed himself and restored the body to its former condition. Though the tradition may differ from the real story, yet the fact remains that in Chirānd there is a tradition that someone's body was cut off at this place and that in connection with some religious notion.

Four temples have been built on the high mound of earth, which was the site of the ancient fort, on account of the sanctity of the place, containing the images of Rāmachandra and Krishna.

Dr. Hoey has identified Chirānd with the ancient Vaisali,[1] and he has given his reasons for such identification. There can be no doubt, however, that Chirānd was an ancient Buddhist town, for images of Buddha and other figures of the Buddhistic period have been exhumed from this place from time to time. I myself obtained there three figures when I visited it in May, 1902. I found them all stowed away in a corner of one of the temples called *Aini Rāma-Kā-Maṭhiā*, and I was told that they had been obtained while digging the earth. One was the figure of Buddha in a meditative posture made of white marble; the second, a small figure of a woman holding a lotus made of basaltic stone ; and the third, also a small figure of a woman but much worn out, made of red sandstone.

At the time of Buddha the river Ganges was the boundary between the two kingdoms of Vaisali and Magadha, Vaisali being situated on the northern side of the river and Magadha on the southern. The capital of the kingdom of Vaisali was also called Vaisali, and the capital of Magadha was Pātaliputra. It is related in Buddhist works that Ānanda, the favourite disciple and cousin of Buddha and the second patriarch of the Buddhist hierarchy after Buddha's death, entered into *Nirvāṇa* while he was crossing the river Ganges on his way from Magadha to Vaisali. After his death his body was divided into two equal parts :

1 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIX,—*Identification of Kusinara, Vaisali and other places.*

one part was taken by Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, and the other by the Licchavis of Vaisali, and the latter built a tower over half the body at a place called Kūṭāgāra, or, as it was called, Mahāvana-Kūṭāgāra,[1] the northern suburb of the town of Vaisali. This tower was visited by Fa Hian in the fifth century,[2] and by Hinen Tsiang in the seventh century.[3]

The etymology of Chirānd and the aforesaid tradition of Mayūradhvaja's son being sawed down into two portions at this place, and the fact that it was the site of an ancient Buddhist town, point out that it was the place where the tower was built over half the body of Ānanda. The word Chirānd is composed of two words: *Chir* and *And*. *Chir* means a portion cut off, and *And* is a contraction or corruption of Ānanda, and hence the word Chirānd means *a portion cut off from Ananda's body.* Chirānd therefore may be identified with the ancient Kūṭāgāra or Mahāvana-Kūṭāgāra, the northern suburb of Vaisali. But the difficulty of such identification is apparent. Vaisali has been identified by General Cunningham with Basarh[4] on the left bank of the Gandak in the district of Muzaffarpur (Tirhut), though it should be observed that the river Gandak is not mentioned in connection with Vaisali either by Fa Hian or Hiuen Tsiang: the latter says that he crossed the Ganges in order to reach Vaisali from Drona-stupa which has been identified with Degwāra. If Vaisali be Basarh, then certainly Chirānd cannot be the northern suburb of Vaisali, as Chirānd is situated about twenty-four miles to the south-west of Basarh. Mr. Carlleyle identifies the mounds of ancient ruins at Chirānd with the Drona or Kumbha stupa which was said to have been built by the Brāhman Drona over the vessel or *kumbha* with which he divided the relics of Buddha into eight equal portions, each of which was equal to one *droṇa* in measure, and he supposes that *Chir* of the word Chirān refers to the division of the remains of Buddha.[5] But there is much that is reasonable, at least worthy of the consideration of the archæologist, in the argument advanced by Dr. Hoey in identifying Chirānd with Vaisali, though it goes against the accepted identification of Vaisali with Basarh. There are big earthen

[1] Beal's *Travels of Fah Hian and Sung-yun*, Chap. XXV, Bigandet's *Life of Gautama*, Chap. XI, and *Chullavagga*, ch. v, sec. 13 and ch. x, sec. 1. *The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian from the French edition of the Foe Koue Ki* (*1848*): "Thence proceeding five *yeou yan* to the east, you come to the kingdom of *Phi she li*. Here are a great forest [*Mahâvana*] and a chapel of two stories [*Kūṭāgāra*]; it was one of the stations of Foe, and here you see the *Tower of half of the body of Ananda.*"

[2] Beal's *Fo-Kwo-Ki*, Chapters XXV and XXVI.

[3] Beal's *Records of Western Countries*, Book VII.

[4] *The Ancient Geography of India*, page 443.

[5] Archæological Report, Vol. XXII, p. 79.

mounds in Telpā which is two miles to the south-east of Chupra, one of which may be the remains of the *tower of the bows and deposited arms*, as Dr. Hoey supposes the village to have been the site of the ancient Chāpāla. This part of the country therefore ought to be thoroughly explored, and there can be no doubt that the exploration would yield some results of great archæological interest.

Whether Chirānd was the ancient Mahāvana-Kūṭāgāra or not, there can be no doubt that even in its ruins it must have been a celebrated place as to have attracted the attention of Sultan Abul Muzaffar Husain Shah who built a beautiful mosque, now in ruins, upon a portion of the remains of the ancient fort or mounds in 909 Hijri, corresponding to 1503 A.C. The inscription on the mosque was noticed by Dr. Blochmann in 1874.[1] The Sultan would not certainly have constructed the mosque at this place had it not been considered to be a sacred place by the Hindus.

[1] Blochmann's *Geography and History of Bengal*, No. II, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of 1874, page 304.

The origin of the Kap *section of the Barendra Class of Brahmans of Bengal.*—*By* PANDIT YOGEŚACHANDRA ŚASTRI.

[Read May, 1903.]

In the 12th century A.D.[1] during the reign of Ballala Sena the number of the Brahmans who came to Bengal from Kanauj in the time of Adisura became immensely increased. There were 350 Brahmans on the east bank and 750 on the west bank of the river Ganges.[2] The former were designated as Barendras on account of their being the inhabitants of Barendrabhumi, the present Rajshâhi division, and the latter were called Rarhis owing to their being the inhabitants of Rarhabhumi, the present Burdwan division and the western part of Murshidabad district.

During this period there were no Brahmans well versed in the Vedas in the south-eastern provinces of India. The kings of these provinces consequently asked Ballala Sena to send some Brahmans, who were well versed in the Vedas, to their provinces. At this Ballala Sena was very glad, and having kept 100 in Barendrabhumi sent 250 Brahmans to those provinces. He distributed them in the following order:

[1] निखिलन्नृपचक्रतिलकश्रीमद्बल्लालसेनदेवेन ।
पूर्णे शशिनवदशमिते शकाब्दे दानसागरो रचितः ॥
१०९१ शः अः = १०९१ + ७९ = ११७० खृः अः ।
इति समयप्रकाशः ।

N.B.—According to General Cunningham, Dr. R. L. Mitra and Mr. R. C. Dutta, Ballala reigned in the 11th century A.D., and according to लघुभारतम् he reigned in the 14th century A.D.

[2] वरेन्द्रे तु तदा सार्द्धत्रिशतान्ययत्नजन्मनाम् ।
राढ़ायान्तु द्विजाश्चासन् सार्द्धाम्भोधिशतानि च ॥
वारेन्द्रकुलपञ्जी ।

fifty in Magadha, sixty in Bhota, sixty in Rabhang, forty in Utkal (Orissa), and forty in Maurang.[1]

After a few years Ballala divided those one hundred Barendra Brahmans into three sections according to their qualifications, namely: (1) Kulins,[2] (2) Çuddhaçrotriyas,[3] and (3) Kaṣṭaçrotriyas. The Kulins were the following eight houses: (1) Maitra, (2) Bhima, (3) Rudra (Bagchi), (4) Sanyamini (Sanyal), (5) Lahiri, (6) Bhaduri, (7) Sadhu (Bagchi), (8) Bhadara; and the following eight houses were the Çuddhaçrotriyas: (1) Karanja, (2) Nandanabashi, (3) Bhattashali, (4) Lauri or Laruli, (5) Champati, (6) Jhampati, (7) Atirtha, (8) Kamadeva.[4] Among those houses, Udayanacharya, the celebrated author of the Kusumanjali,[5] a treatise on the ethical branch of the Nyaya philosophy, was

[1] वारेन्द्रवासिविप्राणां मध्ये चैकशतद्विजाः ।
वरेन्द्रे रक्षिता राज्ञा सदाचारपरायणाः ॥
द्विशतादधिकपञ्चाशद्वारेन्द्राणां द्विजन्मनां ।
पञ्चाशन्मगधे षष्ठिर्भोटे षष्टिः रभाङ्गके ॥
चत्वारिंशदुत्कले च मौड़केऽपि तथाङ्काः ।
दत्ता नृपतिना हर्षं वल्लालेन महात्मना ॥
वारेन्द्रकुलपञ्जी ।

[2] आचारो विनयो विद्या प्रतिष्ठा तीर्थदर्शनम् ।
निष्ठाशान्तिस्तपोदानं नवधा कुललक्षणम् ॥
कूर्म्मपुराणम् ।

[3] जन्मना ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः संस्कारैर्द्विज उच्यते ।
विद्यया याति विप्रत्वं त्रिभिः श्रोत्रियलक्षणम् ॥
प्रायश्चित्तविवेकः ।

[4] आदौ मैत्रस्तथा भीमो रुद्रः संयामिनी तथा ।
लाहिड़ी भादुड़ी साधुर्भादरः षड्भिपूरकः ॥
करञ्जो नन्दनावासो भट्टशाली च लाउरी ।
चम्पटी झम्पटी चैव आतीर्थः कामदेवकः ॥
वारेन्द्रकुलपञ्जी

[5] ऋतोः सङ्घर्षणो नाम्ना पुत्रो जज्ञे महामतिः ।
सङ्घर्षणात् सुतो जातः भल्लुकाचार्य्यविश्रुतः ॥

born in the house of Bhaduri; and Kulluka Bhatta, the reputed author of the Manvarthamuktavali,[1] a commentary on the Manusamhita, was

भल्लकस्य सुतावेतौ योगेश्वरदिवाकरौ ।
भादुड़ी च करञ्जश्च तयोर्गाञिः स्रुतः क्रमात् ॥
योगेश्वरस्यात्मजो यः पुण्डरीकाक्षकः स्रुतः ।
ततो बृहस्पतिर्जज्ञे दिविदेवगुरुर्यथा ।
वेदज्ञो ब्रह्मनिष्ठः स आचार्य्यपदमाप्तवान् ॥
बौद्धाचार्य्यजिष्णुनिना विचारणमूर्द्धणि ।
विजितोऽपमानितश्च वनं गत्वा ममार च ॥
बृहस्पतिसुतः श्रीमान् भुवि विख्यातमङ्गलः ।
धर्म्मसंस्थापनार्थाय बौद्धविध्वंसहेतवे ।
ख्यात उदयनाचार्य्यो बभूव प्रङ्करो यथा ॥
सन्देशं पिठनाथस्य तथा पिठपराभवम् ।
बौद्धानां विजयञ्चैव श्रुत्वा जज्वाल मन्युना ॥
ततः कालेन कियता बौद्धान् जित्वा विचारतः ।
ब्रह्मतत्त्वप्रकाशाय चकार कुसुमाञ्जलिम् ॥

भादुड़ीवंशावली ॥

[1] इति वारेन्द्रनन्दनावासीयभट्टदिवाकरात्मज-
श्रीमत्कुल्लूकभट्टविरचितायां मन्वर्थमुक्तावल्यां
मनुवृत्तौ द्वादशोऽध्यायः ।

मं सं १२ । ६०३ टीका ।

अपिच—

गौड़े नन्दनावासिनाम्नि सुजनैर्वन्द्ये वरेन्द्रयां कुले
श्रीमद्भट्टदिवाकरस्य तनयः कुल्लूकभट्टोऽभवत् ।
काश्यामुत्तरवाहिजह्नुतनयातीरे समं पण्डितैः
तेनेयं क्रियते हिताय विदुषां मन्वर्थमुक्तावली ॥

इति मन्वर्थमुक्तावल्याम् ।

born in the house of Nandanabashi. It is needless to mention the names of 84 houses of the Kaṣṭaçrotriyas as they have no connection with the present topic.

There are different accounts as to how, after Ballala Sena, the Kap section was originated from the Kulin mentioned before. Among them the most popular is the following :—

Once upon a time many Brahmans of the Kulin and the Çrotriya sections were invited to a dinner given by Çukadeva Acharya, an inhabitant of the village named Brahmanbala, on the occasion of his father's annual Çraddha ceremony. There was a prevailing custom in that time, which still exists, that the dinner should not begin until all the Brahmans were present, especially when a respectable man was absent. But in that dinner this custom was not observed, as the dinner began without waiting for one Nrisinha Laurial,[1] of Çantipore, who was formerly an inhabitant of the village named Laur, in Çrihatta (Sylhet), and who, it is said, though a Brahman, used to live by selling betel-leaves. He did not come in proper time. Afterwards when Nrisinha came he wanted to know the cause of the violation of the custom. In reply he was told that as he was not a respectable man so none could find any necessity to wait for him. At this reply, Nrisinha felt himself much insulted and determined to raise his status in the society. He accordingly came home and started for Majgram, a village on the river Atrai in the district of Rajshahi, with a view to get his daughter married to Madhu

Kulluka Bhatta was an inhabitant of the village named *Guakhara*, formerly in the district of Rajshahi but now in the Pabna district. Sir W. Jones praised him in the following words: "At length appeared Kulluka Bhatta, a Brahman of Bengal, who after a painful course of study, and the collation of numerous manuscripts, produced a work, of which it may, perhaps be said very truly, that it is the shortest yet the most luminous, the least ostentatious yet the most learned, the deepest yet the most agreeable commentary ever composed on any author, ancient or modern, European or Asiatic."

[1] The well-known Advaita Acharya, a friend and disciple of Gauranga, was the great great-grandson of this Nrisinha Laurial. Nrisinha's son was Vidyadhara; his son Chakari; his son Kuvera Acharya; his son Advaita Acharya.

भक्तावतार आचार्योऽद्वैतो यः श्रीसदाशिवः ।
महादेवस्य मित्रं यः कुबेरो गुह्यकेश्वरः ।
कुबेरपण्डितः सोऽद्य जनको ऽस्य विदाम्बरः ॥

राढ़ीयालवंशावली ।
and
गौरगणोद्देशदीपिका ।

Maitra of that village, who was the most respectable Kulin among the Kulins of the then existing society.

After two or three days Nrisinha reached Majgram and met Madhu Maitra while he was performing his evening ritual on the bank of the river Atrai. He instantly made Madhu's acquaintance and requested him to marry his daughter. Madhu at first refused to do it being afraid of social degradation. But when Nrisinha expressed his firm determination to kill himself in the presence of Madhu after killing his wife, daughter, and cow, and throwing his Çalagrama (the family deity) which he took with him, into water, Madhu was then obliged to consent to marry his daughter. The marriage was, accordingly, performed then and there. When Madhu came home with his new wife, she was not accepted by his sons and former wife and was illtreated by them. Madhu was bound to divide his house into two halves by means of a fencing, in one of which he began to live with his new wife, being practically excommunicated from the society.

After some time Madhu found himself in great difficulty when his father's annual Çraddha day drew near, because none of the Brahmans of Majgram or its neighbourhood would dine in his house on that day. Helpless as he was, he went to invite Dhain Bagchi (धैन बागची), who was his brother-in-law (sister's husband) and lived some miles off his house; but Madhu could not find him. Madhu, however, asked Dhain's wife (his sister) to tell her husband to go to his house on the day of his father's Çraddha and returned home.

When Dhain Bagchi came home he heard from his wife of Madhu's suddenly coming to his place and was very much astonished, because Madhu never used to come to his house before. He asked his wife the cause of Madhu's coming, but she could not tell anything more than what Madhu told her. He, however, started for Majgram and reached there at midday. While entering into Madhu's portion of the house he, being obstructed by the fencing which Madhu had made, exclaimed, "Well, Sir, what a *Kap* have you created here?" "Yes Sir," Madhu replied, "I have created a *Kap* there." The word Kap is not a grammatical one so it bears no etymological meaning. It was spontaneously uttered by Dhain Bagchi in the sense of something intervening. But this word afterwards became the designation of the sons of Madhu Maitra by his former wife, who became a section of Barendra Brahmans intermediate between the Kulins and the Çrotriyas.

Afterwards Dhain Bagchi met Madhu Maitra and heard everything from him that happened before. On the very day he summoned all the Kulins and Çrotriyas of Majgram and its neighbourhood to attend a meeting to be held at Madhu Maitra's house to judge the con-

duct of Madhu's sons. The meeting was held and the verdict of that meeting was that the sons of Madhu Maitra by his first wife were guilty of disregarding and illtreating their father.

Thereupon Dhaih Bagchi, together with Madhu Maitra, as the head of the society declared that henceforth the sons of Madhu Maitra by his first wife would no longer be classed among the Kulins. They would be *Kap* and their position in the society would be an intermediate one between the Kulins and the Çrotriyas. They also declared that henceforth should any Kulin touch their water or even come in contact whatsoever with them, he also would be a *Kap*. But this latter declaration was afterwards modified by Raja Kamsa Narayana Ray, of Tahirpore, who ruled that a Kulin should not lose his Kulinship unless he married the daughter of a Kap or allow his daughter to marry a Kap. This rule is still in existence.

Chronology of the Eastern Gaṇga kings of Orissa.—*By* Babu Monmohan Chakravarti, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., *Deputy Magistrate, Bengal.*

[Read August, 1903.]

Introductory.

These kings belong to an important dynasty which ruled Orissa for more than three centuries. Very little authentic was known about them until my article on "The two Copperplate Inscriptions of the king Nṛsiṁha Dēva IV" was read in the meeting of this Society (February, 1891). Since then much additional materials have been published; and their history now rests on surer grounds than the unreliable traditions embodied in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, or the chronicles of the Jagannātha temple.

Confusion about dates.

Nevertheless much confusion still exists specially about their times and years of reign. In the note 1, page 133, of my aforesaid article, I pointed out that the total of regnal years added to the *abhiṣēka* year of Kāmārṇava Dēva (the successor of Cōṛagaṇga) considerably exceeded the Çaka years of the inscriptions, when it should have agreed with them. Then again, while discussing the article of Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu on "The Copperplate Inscription of Nṛsiṁha Dēva II" [see Proceedings of this Society, November, 1897], I once more drew attention to this confusion and hoped for some solution of it. As this confusion has been hampering the discussion of all historical events of the Gaṇga-vaṁça rule, I have gathered together in this article all the facts known to me bearing upon the subject, and have attempted to cut a way through the confused tangles of inscriptional and other records.

The materials.

The inscriptions which I edited in 1891 [published in the Journal As. Soc. Ben., Vol. LXIV (1895), pp. 128-154,] still give the most complete list of the Gaṇga-vaṁça kings, and have, therefore, been made the basis of this article. These copperplates will be briefly referred to as "The Puri Copperplates." The informations given by these copperplates have been checked and supplemented—

(i) By three copperplate inscriptions of Cōṛagaṇga Dēva. They

were first noticed by Mr. Sewell in his "List of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency, Vol. I"; but were published in full by Dr. Fleet in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII. They will be briefly referred to as "The Vizagapatam Copperplates."

(ii) By the copperplate inscriptions of the king Nṛsiṁha Dēva II, briefly, "The Kēndupāṭnā Copperplates." One of them was edited by Babu Nagendra Nāth Vasu in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXV (1896), pp. 229-271; and another edited by him in his Bengali serial "The Viçvakōṣa, article Gāṅgēya."

(iii) By the numerous stone inscriptions at Mukhaliṅgam, Çrīkūrmam, and in their neighbourhood. These have been briefly noticed in Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report, Madras, for 1895-6, pp. 14-24, and will be referred to by its numbering. The Çrīkūrmam inscriptions were first mentioned in Sewell's List, Vol. I; and seeing their importance for Orissa history, I had most of them copied privately in 1891-2. Later on, in 1897, through the kindness of Dr. Grierson I got a no. of date-extracts from Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri. Recently Mr. Gait, our Anthropological Secretary, has kindly handed over to me for use a no. of date-extracts of the inscriptions at Mukhaliṅgam and elsewhere. Many of these inscriptions are broken or incomplete or occasionally wrong; but taken together they are invaluable for the history of this dynasty.

(iv) By several stone inscriptions in Orissa.

(v) By references to Orissa and its kings in the inscriptions of other provinces.

(vi) By references in the Mahomedan histories.

(vii) By the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, where facts historically probable have been mentioned.

The method of calculation adopted.

I may briefly explain here the method adopted for calculating the reigns of the kings. Firstly, the Çaka years, or the regnal years, if given with tithis and weekdays (or Saṅkrāntis or eclipses), are verified, and their equivalents in the English calendar arrived at with the help of Professor H. Jacobi's Tables in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 403-460. Nextly, from these verified dates, those which have regnal years are compared, and the initial years of the kings deduced. As the first year of a king is the last year of his predecessor, this enables us to ascertain the beginning and the end of a king's reign.

Sometimes the verified dates give two or three different years for the initial year; in which case the initial year given by the majority is accepted as being the most reliable. Of some kings no inscriptions with regnal years have been found, and their periods of reign have been taken or deduced from the figures given in the copperplates. Only one king has got no inscriptions; for him the copperplate year has been accepted as it fits in with the deduced dates of the preceding and the succeeding kings.

The comparison of the calculated dates with the copperplate figures.

The years thus calculated are compared below with the regnal years as given in the Puri and Kēndupāṭnā copper-plates:—

1 No.	2 The names of the kings.	3 No. of Inscriptions.	4 The last years of the kings as calculated.	5 The years as given in the copper-plates.	6 Remarks.
1	Cōḍagaṇga Dēva ...	38	72nd year ...	70	(*a*) The year is taken from the copper-plates.
2	Kāmārṇava Dēva VII	8	(10th „)(*a*)	10	
3	Rāghava	...	(15th „)(*a*)	15	
4	Rājarāja II ...	4	21st „ ...	25	
5	Aniyaṇka *alias* Anaṇga Bhīma Dēva II.	3	9th „ ...	10	(*b*) The year is deduced from the copper-plate figure treated as *aṇka*.
6	Rājarāja III ...	1	(14th „)(*b*)	17	
7	Anaṇga Bhīma Dēva III	3	(28th „)(*b*)	34 (*c*) / 33	
8	Nṛsiṁha Dēva I ...	1	(27th „)(*b*)	33	
9	Bhānu Dēva I ...	2	(15th „)(*b*)	18 (*c*) / 17	
10	Nṛsiṁha Dēva II ...	15	(28th „)(*b*)	34	(*c*) The upper figure is of Kēndupāṭnā, the lower of Puri.
11	Bhānu Dēva II ...	2	23rd „ ...	24	
12	Nṛsiṁha Dēva III ...	13	26th „ ...	24	
13	Bhānu Dēva III ...	3	27th „ ...	26	
14	Nṛsiṁha Dēva IV ...	8	Reigning in	24th year.	

It will be seen that the figures in col. 4 generally vary from those in col. 5. *Primâ facie*, however, the years which have been deduced from verified dates must be more reliable than the monthless traditionary years given in the copperplates.

Reconcilement of their differences.

It is possible, however, to reconcile the discrepancies in most cases:—

i. The difference of one year or a little more may be due to the omissions of months: *e.g.*, the differences in Nos. 11, 12, and 13 disappear when their total is made up, which (74) is the same both in cols. 4 and 5 (in col. 4, Çaka 1227/8 to Çaka 1300/1; and in col. 5, 24+24+26).

ii. The difference in No. 1 may be due either to the tradition

sticking to a round figure, or to calculating the regnal year from the *abhiṣēka* year instead of the accession year.

iii. But the principal difference is in Nos. 4 to 10, rising in some cases to 6 years. They can be explained, if the regnal years of the copperplates are taken as *aṅka* years, and not as ordinary years. I am the more inclined to take this view, as I find in the Kēndupāṭnā copperplates Bhānu Dēva (No. 9) is distinctly credited with a rule of eighteen *aṅkas* [Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LXV (1896), p. 252 ; plate V. obverse, line 20]. Taken as *aṅka* years, the copperplate figures come to these : 25 (No. 4) = 21 ; 10 (No. 5) = 8 ; 17 (No. 6) = 14 ; 34 (No. 7) = 28 ; 33 (Nos. 8 and 10) = 27 ; 18 (No. 9) = 15. Thus, except in No. 5, all others agree with the deduced years ; and in No. 5, ten may be a mistake for eleven *aṅka*.

The peculiarities of the aṅka years.

The peculiarities of the *aṅka* regnal years are not well-known. So for the convenience of readers they are noted here. The chief special characteristics are :—

(1) 1, and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) should be omitted.

(2) The last *aṅka* year of one king and the first *aṅka* year of the succeeding king (*i.e.*, 2) fall in the same year.

(3) The year begins on the day of *Suniyā*, siṁha (Bhādrapada) Çukla dvādaçī.

With these general remarks I now proceed to examine the details of each king. All information about dates have been thrown into a tabular form ; and other details which are likely to throw light on the subject have been given below the tables in brief.

Inscriptions.

The inscriptional dates fall under three classes. A large number, having weekdays, &c., could be verified with Professor Jacobi's tables ; another group could not be verified, though weekdays, &c., have been given either on account of mistakes or of my own failure ; another group cannot be verified at all for want of weekdays, &c. They have been noted respectively in the remark column as " verified," " irregular," or " unverifiable."

The inscriptions are either in Sanskrit, Tēlugu, or Oṛiyā language, and have been denoted in the number column as such by letters S., T., and O.

Their general details.

When an era year is given, it is always Çaka. Its numeral numbers are generally in figures, occasionally in symbolical words, often in both. The Çaka figures are generally in Tēlugu inscriptions

followed by the expression *agunēṇṭi*, or its variants, *agunēṇḍi*, *gunēṇṭi*, *gunēṇḍi*, *gunēṇḍu*, *nēṇṭi*, *nēṇḍi* and so on. The months are generally zodiacal; where solar, chiefly as the Uttarāyana and Dakṣināyana Saṇkrāntis. The Ṭithis are generally calculated according to the Sūryya-siddhānta; and the *Pūrṇimānta* scheme is followed preferably to the *amānta*.

The regnal years are always given in figures. They are followed by the technical expression—*yagu çrāhi* or *gu çrāhi*, or simply *çrāhi*, *çrā-i* or *çrāhini*; and preceded by the words *Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya* (increasingly victorious reign). The word "year" is generally denoted in Ōṛiyā and sometimes in Sanskrit inscriptions by *aṇka*; in the Tēlugu inscriptions by the words *Saṁvatsara* or its variants.

In the case of Cōṛagaṇga, only a selection of his inscriptions has been given; in the case of other kings, all the inscriptions known have been quoted. Altogether **dates of 101 inscriptions** have been given in the tables [see *supra*, p. 99], besides others referred to in the accounts given below them. These date-extracts, being mostly new, have been quoted in original for reference.

At the end of this article, **a genealogical table** of the entire Gaṇga family has been attached with years of reigns.

I. Cōṛagaṇga.

[Çaka 993 — Çaka 1069.]

Good many inscriptions of this king's time have been found, and reported in the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1895-96. More than one hundred have been found at Mukhaliṇgam, besides two at Çrikūrmam, and five in their neighbourhood. Of these, the date extracts of 34 are given below; but many of the inscriptions unfortunately cannot be verified:—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 S.	Çak-āv(b)dē nanda-randhra-graha-gaṇagaṇitē kumbha-saṁsthē dinēçē çuklēpakṣē tri(tṛ)tīyāyuji Ravija-dinē Rēvatibhē Nṛyugmē lagnē(nē), or Çaka 999, Kumbha month, Çu. 3, Saturday = 17th Feb. A.D. 1078.	"Vizagapatam Plates," Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 163; Ep. Ind., Vol. V, App., p. 51, No. 358.	Verified.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
2 S.	Hara-nayana-viyad-gagana-candra-gaṇitē Çak-āvdē(bdē) Mēṣa-māsa-kṛṣṇ - āṣṭamyām - Āditya - vārē, or Çaka 1003, Mēṣa Kṛ. 8, Sunday = 4th April A.D. 1081.	"Vizagapatam Plates," Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII. p. 162; Ep. Ind., Vol. V, App., p. 51, No. 359.	Verified.
3 T.	Çakha(ka)-varuṣaṁbulu 10 0(d0)04. Çrīmad-Anantavarmma-dēvara prava-[rddha]m[ā]na - vijaya-rājya-saṁ (*vac)charalu 8 yagu çrāhi-Yuttarāyana saṁkr[ā]nti, or Çaka 1004, year 8, uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 244, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Unverifiable.
4 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 10 0(d)0 [4] Çrīmad-Anantavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya - saṁva[tsaraṁbulu] 8 yagu çrāhi-Yuttarāyana, or Çaka 1004, year 8, Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 246, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Ditto.
5 T.	Sa(ça)kha(ka)-varuṣaṁbulu 1015 ... [titles of] Çrī-Cōṛagaṁgga-dēvara ... 19 gu s(ç)rāhiYuttarāyaṇa-mugānu, or Çaka 1015, year 19, Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 392, of Rōṇāṅki.	Ditto.
6 T.	Sakha(ça ka) - varuṣaṁbulu 10[1]5 gunēṇṭi ..... Çrī-Cōṛagaṁga-dēvara ..... 19 gu sra(çrā)hi Yuttarāyaṇa-munā[ṇḍu], or Çaka 1015, year 19, Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 393, of Rōṇāṅki.	Ditto.
7 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1020 nēṇṭi Çrī-mad-Anaṁttavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbul[u] [2]3 çrāhi Siṁha-çukl-āṣṭami-yun-Ādi-vāra, or Çaka 1020, year 23, Siṁha Çu. 8, Sunday.	Ep. Rep., No. 167, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Irregular.
8	Çaka-varṣa 10[2]4 nēṇṭi Çrīmad-Anantavarmma-dēva[ra] pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara[2]8 nēṁ[ti] Viṣuva-saṁkrānti, or Çaka 1024, year 28, Viṣuva-saṅkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 140, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Unverifiable.
9 S.	Viyad-udadhi-kh-ēṁ(n)du-gaṇitēṣu Çaka-vatsarēṣu puṇyē-hani, or Çaka 1040.	Vizagapatam Plates, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 166; Ep. Ind., V, App., p. 51, No. 360.	Ditto.
10 S.	Çrīmad-Anaṁtavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya - rājya-saṁvatsa (*ra) 44 gu çrāhi Çāk-ābdānā [ṁ pramāṇe] gagana-jala-viyac-caṁdra-gē + + 40 tivra-rasmē[r—]Mārggē bhē . . mavāsyāṁ Sani-dina-yuktē Vyātipātē, or Çaka 1040, year 44, Mārgaçirṣa amāvasyā, Saturday, Vyāti-	Ep. Rep., No. 390, of Rāyipāḍu.	Verified.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
	pāta yōga=14th December, A.D. 1118.		
11 T.	Çaka-varuṣambulu 10 0(*d*)43 gunēṇṭi Çrīmat-Cōṛagaṁgga-dēvara vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 45 çrāhi ēdur[ē]ṇṭi Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁtti, or Çaka 1043, year 45, Uttarāyaṇa saṇkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 234, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Unverifiable.
12 T.	Çaka-varṣa[ṁ]bulu 104[3] aganēṇṭi Çrīmâc-Cōṛagaṁgga-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 4[5] çrāhi ēdurēṇṭi Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkranti, or Çaka 1043, year 45, Uttarāyaṇa saṇkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 173, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.
13 T.	Sa(ça)ka-varuṣambulu 104[5] gunēṇḍu Çrīmatu-Cōṛagaṁgga-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rajya-[sa]ṁva[tsa](*ra) 48 çrāhi Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁtti, or Çaka 1045, year 48, Uttarāyaṇa saṇkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 221, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.
14 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1045 gu[nē]ṇṭi Çrīmad-A[nanta]varmma-dēvara pravard(*dha)amāna-vi[ja]ya-rājya saṁ[vatsa](*ra)[4]9 çrā(*hi) rēṁḍi [Mē]ṣa-saṁkr[ā](*n)tti, or Çaka 1045, year 49, Mēṣa saṇkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 177, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.
15 T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 10[4]5 gunēṇṭi Çrīmac-Cō[ṛagaṁ]gga-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(*ra) 49 gu çrāhi Sōma-grahaṇa, or Çaka 1045, year 49, moon-eclipse. [In Çaka 1045 one moon-eclipse on 9th Margaçīra, or 5th November A.D. 1123, a Monday].	Ep. Rep., No. 224, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.
16 T.	Çrīmad-Anaṁttavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(*ra) 49 çrāhi Çak-(*ā)bdaṁbulu 1046 gunēḍi Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁti, or Çaka 1046, year 49, Uttarāyaṇa saṇkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 222, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.
17 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1048 gunēṇṭi Çrīmad-Ananta[varma]-dēvara-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(*ra) 53 gu çrāhi Karkkaṭaka-saṁkr[ā]ṁtti, or Çaka 1048, year 53, Karkkaṭaka saṇkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 166, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.
18 T.	Sakha(çaka)-varuṣaṁbulu 1049 agunēṁṭi Çrīmad-Anantavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(*ra) 53 s(ç)rāhi mahā-dvā(*da)-	Ep. Rep., No. 143, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
	si, or Çaka 1049, year 53, mahā-dvādaçi.		
19 T.	Sakha(çaka)-varuṣaṁbulu 1049 guṇēṇḍu Çri-Sōṛa[ga]ṁgga-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rajya-saṁvatsa(*ra) 53 s(ç)ṛa(ā)hi Makara-s(ç)ukla 4 yu nēla-saṁkrāṁtiyu Sōma-vāramu, or Çaka 1049, year 53, Makara saṅkrānti, Çu. (?Kṛ.) 4, Monday. [If Makara Kṛ. 4, then it fell in Çaka 1049 on Phālguna saṅkrānti, a Monday, 23rd January, A.D. 1128].	Ep. Rep., No. 144, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Irregular.
20 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1050 aguṇēṇḍi Çrīma(*c)-Cōṛagaṁgga-dē[v a r a] prava[rddha]māna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaramulu 54 çrāhi [Maka]r-āmāvāsya[yu] Vyatīpātāna, or Çaka 1050 year 54, Makara amāvasyā, Vyātipāta yōga = 23rd December, A.D. 1128, Sunday, [on which day the Vyātipāta yōga fell, according to Sūrya-siddhānta].	Ep. Rep., No. 151, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Verified.
21 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1051 sg[a]nē[ṭi] Çrīmad-Anaṁtavarmma-dēvara pravard(*dh)amāna-vijaya-r ā j y a-saṁ + + + bulu 55 çrāhi Vṛçcika-saṁkrāṁttiy[a] Viti[pā]ta, or Çaka 1051, year 55, Vṛçcika saṁkrānti Vyātipāta yōga = 26th October, A.D. 1129 [but the Vyātipāta yōga had passed away 1 gh. 49 pals before the sunrise].	Ep. Rep., No. 156, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Ditto.
22 T.	Çak-ābdaṁbu[lu] 1053 nē[ṭi] Çrīmac-Cōṛagaṁga-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁva[tsa](*ra) 57 gu s(ç)rāhi Vṛçcika-çukla-mahā + + + + or Çaka 1053, year 57, Vṛçcika Çu. +.	Ep. Rep., No. 220, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Unverifiable.
23	Çrīmad-Anaṁ[tta]varmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(*ra) 5[8] çrāhi Çaka-varuṣaṁbu-(lu) 1054 guṇēṇḍi Kanyā-saṁkrāṁtti, or Çaka 1054, year 58, Kanyā saṅkrānti.	Ep Rep., No. 149, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Ditto.
24 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1055 agu Çrīmad-Anaṁtavarma-dēvara pravard(*dh)amāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁhvatsaraṁbulu 59 çrāhi Mēṣa kṛṣṇa tra 13 yōdaçiyu Budha-vāramuna, or Çaka 1055, year 59, Mēça Kṛ. 13, Wednesday = 5th April, A.D. 1133, (Pūrṇimānta).	My Ms. transcript of Çrīkūrmam (not traceable in Ep. Rep.).	Verified.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
25 T.	Çaka-ābdaṁbulu 1055 guṇēṇḍu Çrīmad-Anaṁttavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(°ra) 59 çrīhi Kuṁbha-māsamuna Sūryya-grahaṇa, or Çaka 1055, year 59, Kumbha month, sun-eclipse = 27th January, A.D. 1134, Saturday; [according to Schram's Table A, in Sewell's *Indian Calendar*, p. 122, the sun-eclipse was annular, and the conjunction took place at 2 hours 24 min. after mean Laṅkā sunrise].	Ep. Rep., No. 185, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Verified.
26 T.	S(Ç)aka-varuṣaṁbulu 1055 nēṇṭi Çrīmad-Ana[ṁta]varmma-Çrī-Cōḍagaṁgga-dēvara vijaya-rājya-sa[°ṁva]tsa(°ra) 6[0] çrāhi Kanyā-kṛṣṇa-paṁcamiyu Budha-vāramuna Vyātipāta, or Çaka 1055(6), year 60, Kanyā Kṛ. 5, Wednesday, Vyātipāta yōga = 10th September, A.D. 1134, [but the Vyātipāta yōga did not fall on that day].	Ep. Rep., No. 395, of Mahēndragiri.	Ditto.
27 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 10[55] guṇēḍu S(Ç)—rīmad-Anaṁ[tava]rmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 5[9] çrāhi ēdurēṇṭi Dhanu[r-mmā]sa-çukla-aṣṭamiyu Maṁggala-vā[ra]-munāḍu-Yuttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁti, or çaka 1055(6), year 59, Dhanu month, Çu. 8, uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti, Tuesday = 25th December, A.D. 1134.	Ep. Rep., No. 153, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Ditto.
28 T.	Çak-ābdamulu 1056 guṇē[ṇṭi] Çrīmad-Anaṁttavarma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(°ra) 5 × çrā[°hi] ēdurē[ṇṭi] Dhanu[°r]-māsa-çukla-aṣṭamiyu Maṁggala-vāramunan-Uttarāyaṇa-saṁ[krā]nti, or [the same date as in No. 153], Çaka year 1056.	Ep. Rep., No. 154, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Ditto.
29 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1056 guṇēṇḍu Çrīmad-Anaṁttavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 59 yagu ēdurēṁṭti-Yuttarāyaṇa-saṁkrā[nti], [same date as in No. 153.]	Ep. Rep., No. 187, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Ditto.
30 T.	Çaka-varuṣambulu 10[5]7 [guṇē]ṇṭi Çrīmad-Cōḍagaṁgga-dēvara prava-[rddhamā]na-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(°ra) 59 çrāhi ēdur[ēṇṭi] Mēṣa-māsa-	Ep. Rep., No. 219, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Unverifiable

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks
	muna Makarada ....., or Çaka 10 5 7(?), year 59, Mēṣa month.		
31 T.	Çrīmad-Anantavarmma-dēvara prava-[rddha]māna-vijaya-rājya-saṁva[tsa](*ra)[6]1 ç[*r]āhi sa(ça)[ka]-varuṣaṁbul[u] 105[8] kunēṁṭi Viṣuma-saṁkrānti, or Çaka 1058, year 61, Viṣuva saṅkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 193, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Unverifiable.
32 S.	Çāk-āv(b)dēṣu muni-sa(ça)ra-viyac-cha-(ca)ṁdra-gaṇitēṣu Vṛçcika-māsa, or Çaka 1059, month Vṛçcika.	Vizagapatam Plates, Ind. Ant., XVIII, p. 173.	Ditto.
33 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1060 yagu[nēṇḍu] Çrīma[d-Ana]ṁttavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(*ra) 63 [*çrā]hi Riṣabha[-kṛ]ṣ[ṇa]-ça(ca)turdaśiyu Sōma-vāramuna, or Çaka 1060, year 63, Ṛṣava Kṛ. 14, Monday = 9th May, A.D. 1138 (Pūrṇimānta).	Ep. Rep., No. 201, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Verified.
34 T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 1060 nēṇḍu Çri-[*ma]d-Anaṁttavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(*ra)[6]4 çrāhi Uttarā[*ya]ṇa-saṁkrāṁtti, or Çaka 1060, year 64, Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 205, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Unverifiable.
35 T.	Çaku(a)-varuṣaṁbula(u) 1061 agunēḍu Çrīmad-Ana(*ṁ)ttava(*r)mma-dēvara pravarddham[ā]na-vijaya-rāj(*y)a-saṁ(*va)cc(*h)aram(*b)ulu 64 çrāhi Viṣuma-saṁkrānti, or Çaka 1061, year 64, Viṣuva-saṅkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 236, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Ditto.
36 T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 10[6]8 yagu Çrīmad-Anaṁtavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamā[na]-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 72 çrāhi Kuṁbha-māsamuna-amāvāsyayun-Ādi-vāramu Mahāvyātipāta, or Çaka 1068, year 72, Kuṁbha month amāvasyā, Sunday, Mahāvyātipāta yōga = 2nd February, A.D. 1147, [but the Vyātipāta yōga did not fall on that day].	Ep. Rep., No. 387, of Arasavilli.	Verified.
37 T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 1069 dagunēṇṭi Çrīmad-Anaṁtavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vi(*ja)ya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 72 çrāhi Viṣubha-saṁkrāṁttiyu çukla-tritīyayu Sōma-vāramunāṇḍu, or Çaka 1069, year 72, Viṣuva saṅkrānti, Çu. 3, Monday.	Ep. Rep., No. 388, of Arasavilli.	Irregular.
38 T.	Çrīmad-Anantavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rajya-saṁvatsa-	Ep. Rep., No. 182, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Unverifiable.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	REMARKS.
	raṁbulu 73 çrāhi Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 10[6]9 agunēṇṭi Da[kṣiṇā]yana-saṁkrānti, or Çaka 1069, year 73, Dakṣiṇāyaṇa saṅkrānti.		

N.B.—The letters within [ ] are more or less broken. The letters within ( ) are corrections, and those within (*) are additions.

On examining the 34 inscriptions with regnal years, they are found to fall mostly in two groups:—

First year.

Group No. I. (20 inscriptions):—

Çaka	... ...	1004	= 8th year
,,	... ...	1015	= 19th ,,
,,	... ...	1024	= 28th ,,
,,	... ...	1040	= 44th ,,
,,	... ...	1045	= 49th ,,
,,	... ...	1049	= 53rd ,,
,,	... ...	1050	= 54th ,,
,,	... ...	1051	= 55th ,,
,,	... ...	1053	= 57th ,,
,,	... ...	1054	= 58th ,,
,,	... ...	1055	= 59th ,,
,,	... ...	1055 (6)	= 60th ,,
,,	... ...	1060	= 64th ,,
,,	... ...	1068	= 72nd ,,
,,	... ...	1069	= 73rd ,,

∴ According to this group, Çaka 997 = 1st year.

Group No. II. (10 inscriptions):—

Çaka	... ...	1020	= 23rd year
,,	... ...	1045	= 48th ,,
,,	... ...	1046	= 49th ,,
,,	... ...	1056	= 59th ,,
,,	... ...	1058	= 61st ,,
,,	... ...	1060	= 63rd ,,

Çaka	...	...	1061	= 64th year
,,	...	...	1069	= 72nd ,,

∴ According to this group, Çaka 998 = 1st year.

Besides these, there are three inscriptions according to which the first year would fall in Çaka 999, and one inscription, probably a mistake, according to which the first year would fall in Çaka 996.

The difference of one year between the regnal years of Group I and Group II, may be due to the fact that like aṇka years those in Group No. 1 omitted number one. This omission of number one is found also in the inscriptions of the next king Kāmārṇava. Cōṛagaṇga was crowned in Çaka 999; and he is more likely to have come to the throne in Çaka 998, than Çaka 997, as kings naturally would prefer to be crowned on the earliest auspicious day possible. Inscription No. 271 of Dirghāsi [Ep. Rep., p. 18 and Ep. Ind., IV, p. 316, v. 7] shows that in Çaka 997 Rājarāja was living. Calculations from the preceding kings corroborate the conclusion of Group No. II. [see *infra*, p. 109]. For these reasons **Çaka 998** would preferably appear to be the first year of Cōṛagaṇga.

Last year.

The last year is given in No. 172 of Mukhaliṇgam, 73rd year **Çaka 1069.** In Çaka 1070, Kāmārṇava's year 3 began. Consequently taking Çaka 998 as the first year, Cōṛagaṇga actually ruled till his 72nd year. In Puri and Kēndupāṭṇā plates he is credited with a rule of seventy years. In these plates Kāmārṇava is said to have been crowned in Çaka 1064, month Pauṣa. This cannot literally be correct; as several inscriptions exist with Cōṛagaṇga's regnal years from Çaka 1065 to 1069, while Kāmārṇava's inscriptions with regnal years begin with Çaka 1070 as his 3rd year. The coronation of Kāmārṇava in Çaka 1064 might possibly have been as a regent; for in that year Cōṛagaṇga would have been very old, probably more than eighty, and might have arranged to transfer the active duties of a kingship to his the then eldest son Kāmārṇava.

His family.

Cōṛagaṇga's father was Rājarāja II of the Eastern Gaṇga family; and his mother was Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Cōḷa king, "*Cōḍa-mahi-bhuj-ātmajāṁ*" (Vizagapatam plates). This Cōḷa king was Vīra Rājēndra Dēva I, surnamed Parakēçarivarman (A.D. 1052-1070); and thus Cōṛagaṇga became related to the great Cōḷa king Kulōttuṇga Cōḷa I, as his sister's son. The Cōṛagaṇga of the Gaṇga family is apparently a different person from the Cōṛagaṇga of the Ṭēki plates, described as the son (*priy-ātmjaṁ*) of Kulōttuṇga Cōḷa I [verse 25, l. 50, Ep. Ind., VI, p. 340], who bore the surname Rājarāja and was deputed by his father (in Çaka 1006) to rule the Vēṇgī territory.

Puri and Kēndupāṭnā copperplates name only three ancestors of Cōṛagaṇga; but the three Vizagapatam plates trace out his genealogy to the reputed founder of the family, including the above three. Consequently the account of the Gaṇga family will be incomplete if these ancestors are omitted. A full genealogical table from the reputed founder Vīrasiṁha to the last known Gaṇga king Nṛsiṁha Dēva IV is annexed at the end of this article. The list of Cōṛagaṇga's ancestors has been compiled from the Vizagapatam plates, and the Nadagam plates of Vajrahasta edited with two tables by Mr. G. V. Rāmamurti in Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 183 ff.

The calculation of dates from Vajrahasta seem to corroborate the conclusion that Çaka 998 was the first year of Cōṛagaṇga. Vajrahasta was crowned in Çaka 960 [v. 8, ll. 34-7, Nadagam plates, pp. 190-1]. He is given 33 years in the Vizagapatam plate dated Çaka 1003, and 30 years in the V. plate dated Çaka 1040. The first figure may be the regnal year, and the second one actual years of rule minus months. Rājarāja is given eight years in all the V. plates, and this figure I take to be the actual year. If in the regnal years, the number one used to be omitted, as appears from the subsequent aṇka years and from the regnal years of Kāmārṇava VII, then—

Çaka	...	...	960 = 2nd regnal year.
Add	...	...	31 (30 years and odd months).
Çaka	...	...	991 = the 33rd year of Vajrahasta, or the 1st year of Rājarāja.
Add	...	...	7
Çaka	...	...	998 = the 8th year of Rājarāja.

∴ Cōṛagaṇga could not have then succeeded to the throne before Çaka 998.

Several queens of Cōṛagaṇga are named in the inscriptions,—Kastūrikāmōdinī, Indirā and Candralēkhā (Puri and Kēndupāṭnā Plates); Somala Mahādēvī (No. 146), Lakṣmī Dēvī (Nos. 210, 392, and 393), and Prithvī Mahādēvī (No. 211), (in the stone inscriptions); Nos. 203 and 215 of Mukhaliṇgam record grants of certain unnamed queens of his.

He had several sons. The copperplates mention Kāmārṇava, Rāghava, Rājarāja and Aniyaṇkabhīma; in No. 239, one Umāvallabha is said to have been his son.

He had apparently a brother (or brothers), for No. 153 records a grant of his younger brother's wife.

His titles.

Cōḍagaṇga had the family surnames Ananta-Varmman, and Cālukya-gaṇga, and the special surnames Gaṇgēçvara and probably Vikrama-Gaṇga. His *virudas* are given in nearly the same words in No. 149 of Mukhaliṇgam and No. 392 of Rōṇāṇki. They run as follows in Rōṇāṇki :—

"*Samara-mukh-ānēka-ripu-darppa-marddana-bhuja-bala-parākrama parama-māhēs(ç)vara parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahā-rāj-ādhirāja paramēs(ç)vara nava-navati-sahasra-kuṁjar-ādhīs(ç)vara tri-Kaliṁg-ādhipati* [these two omitted in Mukhaliṇgam] *Gaṇgg-ānvay-āvalaṁbana-stambha.*

Historical facts.

The inscriptions show him to be the most famous and powerful king of this dynasty. According to all the copperplates he conquered the king of Utkala. According to Vizagapatam plates, after conquering the Utkala king he replaced him as a feudatory; and he conquered also Vēṇgī.

According to Puri and Kēndupāṭnā plates, Gaṇgēçvara first destroyed the fortified town of Āramyā or Ānamyā and then defeating on the banks of the Ganges the king of Mandāra, pursued him in his flight. Is the tract Mandāra identifiable with Sirkar Mandāran of Aīn-i Akbari [Vol. II., p. 141], whose headquarters, Garh Mandāran (now known as Bhitargarh, eight miles west of Ārām-bagh) is about fifty miles from the Ganges on the map, and which place was a well-known frontier town in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries ?.

By these conquests, Cōḍagaṇga extended his kingdom from the Ganges on the north to the river Gautamī (Gōdāvarī) on the south. On the west the frontier was ill-defined. But from inscriptions of the Cēdi kings of Dakṣina-Kōsala he appears to have fought with them, and Ratnadēva is said to have defeated him [Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 40, v. 4; Do., p. 47, v. 5]. Ratnadēva flourished about A.D. 1114-1145.

He was evidently in good terms with the Sēna kings of Bengal; in p. of the *vallāla-caritaṁ* of Ānanda Bhaṭṭa, edited by Paṇḍit Haraprasad Çāstrī, Vijaya Sena is specially described as *Cōḍagaṇga-sakhaḥ*, a friend of Cōḍagaṇga.

He was a good patron of religious works and charities. Under his orders was built the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri. Numerous grants of him, his relatives and his officers have been recorded in the temple of Mukhaliṇgēçvara (Madhukēçvara ?) at Mukhaliṇgam, Ganjam District.

Science and letters were cultivated during his rule. No poem of his time has yet come to hand; but the inscriptions show a fair knowledge of Sanskrit literature. Compositions in Telugu were also not neglected.

Science is represented by *Bhāsvatī*, a manual of rules for determining the position of the heavenly bodies, according to Sūrya-siddhānta. The work was composed in Çaka 1021 (A.D. 1099–1100) by Satānanda, son of Çaṇkara and Sarasvatī. He was of Purusōttama (*i.e.* Puri), and according to the commentators he based his calculations on the meridian of this town.

The extremely long rule of Cōṛagaṇga (72nd year) is unprecedented in the annals of Orissa, and, I suppose, stands unique in Indian history too. Presumably he was over ninety at the time of his death.

Traces of his name may still be found in Chuṛaṇga-sāhi, a quarter in Puri town; in Chuṛaṇga pōkhri, a tank about six miles S. W. of Cuttack town; in Sāranga-garh, a fort, the remains of which are still visible on the Madras Trunk Road close to Bārang Railway Station; and in the temple of Gaṇgēçvara, town Jājapura, District Cuttack.

II. Kāmārṇava VII.

[1069 Çaka — 1078 Çaka.]

The following inscriptions of his time are known :—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 S.	Vēdartu-vyōma-candra-pramita-Çaka-samā prāpta-kālē dinēçē cāpasthē, or 1064 Çaka, the sun in Dhanu (*i.e.*, month Dhanu).	Puri Cop. plates, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XLIV, p. 140; Kēnd. C.p., J.A.S.B., XLV, p. 242.	Unverifiable.
2 T.	Çrīmad-Anantavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaramulu 3 çrāhi Çaka-varuṣāmulu 10[7]0 aguṇēṁṭi Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti, Çaka 1070, year 3, Dakṣināyaṇa saṇkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 269, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.
3 T.	Çrīmad-Anantavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(°ra) [3] çrāhi Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu... ...Siṁha-krita-yuga-pavaramuna, or Çaka [1070], 3rd year, Siṁha, kṛtā yuga-parvaṁ (?). [Kṛtayuga is said to have begun on 3rd Vaiçākha, and not in Siṁha, see Alberuni, Vol. II, p. 186.]	Ep. Rep., No. 204, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.
4 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 10[70] nēṇṭi Çrīmatu-Jaṭēs(ç)vara-dē[va]ra pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-[sa]ṁvat-	Ep. Rep., 1895-6, No. 178, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
	saraṁbulu 3 çrāhi Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkr[ā]ṁtti, or Çaka 1070, year 3, Uttarāyaṇa saṇkrānti.		
5 T.	Çak-ābdaṁbulu 107[1] Çrima[d-A]nanta[varma]-Madhu-kām[ārṇa]va-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara[ṁ]bu(°lu) 4 çrāhi Karkaṭa-[saṁ]krāṁ[ti]yun-Ādi-vāramuna, or Çaka 1071, year 4, Karkaṭaka saṇkrānti, Sunday = 26th June, A.D. 1149.	Ep. Rep., No. 383, of Çrīkūrmam.	Verified.
6 T.	Çak-ābdaṁbulu 1074 nēṁḍu Çrīmad-Anaṁtava[rma]-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 7 çrāhi Viṣubha-saṁkrāṁti, or Çaka 1074, year 7, Viṣubha saṇkrānti.	Ep. Rep., Nos. 384 and 385, of Çrīkūrmam.	Unverifiable.
7 T.	Çak-ābdaṁbulu 107+(? 6) nēṁḍu Çrīmad-Anaṁttava[r]mma-dēvara pravarddhamā[na]-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(°ra) 9 çrāhi Viṣuma-saṁkrāṁti, or Çaka 1076, year 9, Viṣuva saṇkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 382, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.
8 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1077 nēṇṭi Çrimad-Anantavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(°ra) 1[0] çrāhi Uttarāyaṇa-[saṁkrāṁ]tti, or Çaka 1077, year 10, Uttarāyaṇa-saṇkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 270, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.

First year.		From the inscriptions we thus get—		
Çaka	...	... 1070	=	3rd year
,,	...	... 1071	=	4th ,,
,,	...	... 1074	=	7th ,,
,,	...	... 1076	=	9th ,,
,,	...	... 1077	=	10th ,,

∴ Çaka 1068 = 1st year, or if like aṇka year, then
,, 1069 = 2nd aṇka, or 1st year.

This latter seems more probable, as Cōṛagaṇga's inscriptions exist up to Çaka 1069, 73rd year (No. 182 of Mukhaliṇgam). The copper-plates give 1064 Çaka as the year of his *abhiṣēka*. Does this mean that in that year he was formally put in charge, Cōṛagaṇga being too infirm from age?

As no inscriptions of the succeeding king have yet been found, the

Last year.

last year of this king cannot be positively ascertained. Taking ten to be his total year according to Puri and Kēndupāṭṇā copperplates, and with 1069 Çaka as his first year, the last year would be 1078 Çaka. This agrees with the calculations of the subsequent reigns.

His titles.

The Puri and Kēndupāṭṇā copperplates call him Kāmārṇava Dēva; while in one stone inscription of Çrīkūrmam he is called Anantavarma-Madhu-Kāmārṇava Dēva (No. 383), and in the other stone inscription he is called simply Anantavarmma Dēva. In No. 178, Çaka 1070 is said to be the 3rd regnal year of one Jaṭēçvara Dēva. Is this another name of Kāmārṇava, or is it the name of another prince who had possibly revolted?

His relationships.

Kāmārṇava was the son of Cōṛagaṇga by the queen Kastūrikā-mōdinī. Apparently he succeeded Cōṛa-gaṇga as his eldest son.

III. Rāghava.

[Çaka 1078 — Çaka 1092.]

First and last year.

No inscriptions of this king is known. From calculations of the succeeding king Rājarāja II, his last year would be 1092 Çaka. According to Puri and Kēndupāṭṇā copperplates he ruled fifteen years. Calculating backwards from 1092, his first year falls in 1078, the last year of Kāmārṇava. Hence these dates may be *primâ facie* accepted.

His relationships.

He was son of Cōṛagaṇga by another queen, Indirā, a princess of the *Ravi-kula*. Apparently Kāmārṇava Dēva had died childless.

IV. Rājarāja II.

[Çaka 1092 — Çaka 1112.]

The following inscriptions of his time are known:—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbula 109[3] guṇēṇṭi Çrīmad-Anaṁttavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(*ra)	Ep. Rep., No. 268, of Mukhaliṅgam.	Unverifiable.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	REMARKS.
	3 çrāhi Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrāṁtti, or Çaka 1093, 3rd year, Dakṣiṇāyana-saṇkrānti.		
2 T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 109[7] [nēṇṭi] Çrīmad-Anantavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara [year omitted] çrāhi Karkaṭaka-kṛṣṇa 5 yu Guru-vāramuna, or Çaka 1097, Karkaṭaka Kṛ. 5, Thursday = 10th July, A.D. 1175 (Pūrṇimānta).	Ep. Rep., No. 242, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Verified.
3 T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 1109 gu[nēṁḍu] Çrīmad-Anaṁ[ta]varmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa(*ra) 22 gu çrāhi Uttarāyaṇa-saṁttiyu Guru-vāramuna, or Çaka 1109, 22nd year, Uttarāyaṇa-saṇkrānti, Thursday.	Ep. Rep., No. 180, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Irregular.
4 T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 1110 guṇēṁṭṭi Çrīmad-Anaṁttavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 23 çrāhi Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁttiyu Guru-vāramuna, or Çaka 1110, 23rd year, Uttarāyaṇa saṇkrānti, Thursday; [if a *Sāyana* saṇkrānti, then it fell on 15th November, A.D. 1188, which was a Thursday].	Ep. Rep., No. 265, of Mukhaliṇgam.	Ditto.

First year.

Thus from the inscriptions, we get :—

Çaka	...	1093	= 3rd (aṇka) or	2nd year
,,	...	1109	= 22nd ,,	18th ,,
,,	...	1110	= 23rd ,,	19th ,,
∴ Çaka		1092	= first year.	

Last year.

From the succeeding king's calculations Rāja-rāja's last year would be Çaka 1112. In the Puri and Kēndupāṭnā copperplates he is credited with a rule of 25 years; which, if taken as aṇka, would agree, 25th aṇka being equal to 21st year. The inscriptions show that the regnal years had become full aṇkas in his time.

In the stone inscriptions of Mukhaliṇgam only the title *Anantavarmma Dēva* is mentioned.

Relationships.

He was son of Cōṛagaṇga by another princess Candralēkhā (copperplates, Puri and Kēndupāṭnā). This relationship is corroborated by the Mēghēç-

vara inscription at Bhuvanēçvara. [Its latest readings are by Babu N. N. Vasu, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. LXVI, 1897, pp. 11-24; and by Professor Kielhorn, Ep. Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 198-203]. According to this inscription Rājarāja married Suramā, a sister of Svapnēçvara Dēva, the erector of the Mēghēçvara temple (line 10); and in his old age installed in the government his younger brother Aniyaṅka Bhīma (l. 11).

In "the copperplate inscription of Nṛsiṁha Dēva II," plate leaf III, reverse, l. 13, verse 56, the words "*pragalbha-vayasi*" have been read (transl. "in his early youth"). But from the Mēghēçvara inscription, Rājarāja appears to have come to the throne at least in his middle age. I would therefore prefer to read "*pragalbha-vacasi.*" [See my reading, J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 141, note (1)].

V. Aniyaṅka Bhīma or Anaṅga Bhīma Dēva II.

[Çaka 1112 — Çaka 1120.]

Only two inscriptions of this king's time have been found up to date:—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 S.	Çrīmad-Aniṅka-Bhīma-dēvasya pravarddhamāna-samrājyē catusitāttamē aṅkō Makara-svēkādaçi(ī) Sukra-vārē, or 4th year, Makara Çu. 11, Friday = 15th January, A.D. 1193.	Inscription No. 1 on the south jamb of the porch of the great Temple of Kṛttivāsa at Bhuvanēçvara, lines 2-4.	Verified.
2 S.	Çrīmad-Aniyaṅka-Bhīma-dēvasya pravarddhamāna Puruṣōttama sōmbhāṅkē(?) catustinattamē aṅkē, or 4th aṅka.	Ditto, inscription No. 2, lines 1-4. See my note in Proc. As. Soc. Beng., June and July, 1892.	Unverifiable.
3 S.	Between Çaka 1115—1120, or A.D. 1193-4—1198-9.	Mēghēçvara inscription.	

A.D. 1193 or Çaka 1114 = 4th aṅka or 3rd year.

First year. ∴ „ 1112 = 2nd aṅka or 1st year.

From the calculated initial year of the next king, this king's last

Last year.

year would appear to be Çaka 1120, making his reign nine years. But the copperplates ascribe to him ten years, which, if aṇkas, would give eight years. This difference, if not due to mistake, is at present inexplicable.

Title.

Aniyaṇka Bhīma Dēva has been once mentioned in the copperplates as Anaṇga Bhīma Dēva, and is distinctly mentioned as such in the stone inscription at Cāṭēçvara temple, District Cuttack. [See Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. LXVII, 1898, Babu N. N. Vasu on "The Cāṭēçvara Inscription," p. 320, l. 7; I have got a pencil rubbing of it on wax cloth].

Relationship.

He was the son of Cōṛaganga, and brother of Rājarāja II. He succeeded Rājarāja apparently peacefully [cf. line 7, Cāṭēçvara inscription, p. 320; and Mēghēçvara inscription, l. 11].

Historical Facts.

He had a Brāhmin minister named Gōvinda [Cāṭēçvara inscription l. 8, p. 321]. During his reign, Rājarāja II's brother-in-law Svapnēçvara Dēva had the temple of Mēghēçvara built. The date of this temple would thus be approximately between Çaka 1115 and 1120, or between A.D. 1193-4 and 1198-9.

VI. Rājarāja III.

[Çaka 1120 — Çaka 1133.]

Only one inscription of this king's time is known:—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 11[2]8 guṇēṇṭi çrimad-Anaṁttavarmma-dēvara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu [1]1 çrāhi Kumbha kru[2] Çukra-vāramuna, or Çaka 1128, 11th year, Kumbha Kṛ. 2, Friday = 6th February, A.D. 1207 (amānta).	Ep. Rep., No. 381, of Çrikūrmaṁ.	Verified.
	A little before 602 A.H., June or July A.D., 1205.	Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī, Raverty's translation, pp. 573-4.	The first Mahomedan invasion of Orissa.

First year. Çaka 1128 = 11th aṅka or 9th year;
∴ „ 1120 = 2nd aṅka or 1st year.

Last year. No inscriptions with regnal years have yet been found of the next three kings, till one comes to Nṛsiṁha Dēva II. Falling back upon the years given in the Puri and Kēndupāṭnā copperplates, I find that if treated as aṅkas, they just fit in, thus :—

Name of the king.	First year. (Çaka).	Last year. (Çaka).	Period of reign.
Rājarāja III	1120	1133	17th aṅka or 14th year
Anaṅga Bhīma III	1133	1160	34th „ 28th „
Nṛsiṁha Dēva I	1160	1186	33rd „ 27th „
Bhānu Dēva I	1186	1200/1	18th „ 15th „
Nṛsiṁha Dēva II	1200/1 as deduced from his inscriptions.		

These do not disagree with the inscriptional or other dates attributable to the times of the respective kings.

Relationship. Rājarāja III was son of Aniyaṅka Bhīma Dēva by his chief queen Bāghalla Dēvī. He is spoken of as "*Rājendra*" in Cāṭēçvara inscription, l. 9, p. 321.

First Mahomedan invasion. The first Mahomedan inroad into Orissa took place in his reign.

"Trustworthy persons have related after this manner, that Muḥammad-i-Sherān and Aḥmad-i-Sherāu were two brothers, two among the Khalj Amirs in the service of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār; and when the latter led his troops towards the mountains of Kāmrūd and Tibbat, he had despatched Muḥammad-i-Sherān and his brother, with a portion of his forces, towards Lakhaṇ-or and Jāj-nagar. When the news of these events" [the retreat and death of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār] "reached Muḥammad-i-Sherāu, he came back from that quarter and returned again to Dīw-koṭ" (pp. 573-4).

Orissa was known to Mahomedan historians under the name Jāj-nagar. The inroad of Muḥammad-i-Sherān took place shortly before the assasination of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār, in 602 A.H. (p. 513), and just about the time of his departure for Kāmrūd, which according to Major Raverty, happened towards the close of 601 A.H. (note 4 to p. 560). Hence the approximate time of this inroad, the first Mahomedan invasion of Orissa, would be the close of 601 A.H. or about June or July of A.D. 1205.

VII. Anaŋga Bhīma Dēva III.

[Çaka 1133 — Çaka 1160.]

The following inscriptions of the time of this king are known :—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 S.	Rājarāja-tannja-Anaŋga-Bhīma-vīra ... . rājasya sāmrājy-ābhiṣēka-caturtha-samvatsarē, or 4th year after *abhiṣēka*.	Inscription No. 3, on the south jamb of the porch of the great Temple, Bhuvanēçvara, lines 1-4.	Unverifiable.
2	Cāṭēçvara inscription, *Circa* Çaka 1142 or A.D. 1220.	Jour. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LXVII, 1898, pp. 317-27.	Ditto.
3 S.	Jayati sakala-varṇa-jan-ālaŋkṛta-rāja-Çrī-Bhīma-dēv-ābda ..... tṛtīyāyē guru-vārē Magha-nakṣatrē, or + + 3rd tithi, Thursday, Maghā-nakṣatra.	Inscription No. 1, on the north jamb of the porch of the great Temple of Kṛttivāsa, Bhuvanēçvara, lines 2-5.	Ditto.
4 S.	Çak-āvd-aikādaça-çatē cutvārisat-ād-(dh)ikē-paṁcamakai mbha(?) (vī)ra-Anaŋga-Bhīma-dēvasya pravaddhati-samvatsarē + + [year illegible] ..... Dhanu kṛṣṇa-pratipadi Bhauma-vārē, or Çaka 1145, year + , Dhanu Kṛ. 1, Tuesday = 9th January, A.D. 1224 (amānta).	Inscription No. 2, on the north jamb of the porch of the great Temple, Bhuvanēçvara, lines 1-3.	Verified.
5	Between 608 and 622 A.H., say about 609 A.H. = 1212 A.D.	Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī, Raverty's translation, pp. 587-8; Cāṭēçvara inscription, l. 15, p. 322.	Fight with the Mahomedans.
6	Before 1220 A.D.	Cāṭēçvara inscription, l. 14, p. 322.	Fight with the king of Tummāṇa country.
7	"Sa 24"	Jour. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LXVI, 1897, pp. 144-5, Plate VI; Proc. As. Soc. Beng., Aug. 1898.	A gold coin with the letters "ana," and year 24.

First and last years.

No regnal year of this king being available, his first and last years have been calculated by treating the year assigned to him in Puri and Kēndupāṭṇā

copperplates, as aṅka year [see *supra*, the remarks under Rājarāja III, p. 117].

Relationship.

He was son of Rājarāja III by his Queen Sadguṇa or Maṅkuṇa Dēvī of *Cālukya* race. He is styled "*Tri-kaliṅga-nātha*" in Cāṭēçvara inscription, l. 12, p. 321.

Historical Facts.

He had a Brāhmin minister named Viṣṇu who fought for him with "*Tummāṇa-prthvi-patēḥ*" (Cāṭ. ins., ll. 14-5), and with the Yavanas, "*Yavan-āvan-īndu-samarē*" (Do., l. 15). Babu N. N. Vasu reads Tummāṇa as Tumghāṇa, and identifies this with Ṭughril-i-ṭughān Khān [J.A.S.B., XLV, 233-4; XLVII, p. 319]. The identification is open to objections. Firstly, the expression "*Tummāṇa-prthvi-patēḥ*" means "of the king of the Tummāṇa land," and therefore Tummāṇa cannot be applied to any person. Secondly, the fight with Ṭughān Khān took place on 13th Shawwāl, A.H. 642, or in March 1245 A.D., *i.e.*, six or seven years after Anaṅga Bhīma Dēva had ceased to rule.

In fact, Tummāṇa land was in the Central Provinces, and has been repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions of the Cēdi kings [Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 34, 35, 40, 41, 47]. These Cēdi kings being rulers of the adjoining province, Dakṣinakōṣala, were from time to time at war with the kings of Orissa. One of them, Ratna Dēva, is said to have defeated even Cōṛagaṅga. Their position is further indicated by the statement that the fight took place in the groves on the banks of the Bhīmā river at the foot of the Vindhya hills. They, too, apparently invaded Orissa, as fighting on the bank of the sea is also mentioned.

The fight with the Yavanas, mentioned in verse 15, line 15, refers probably to some inroads of Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn 'Iwaẓ, the fourth Bengal ruler. Of him Ṭabaḳāṭ-i-Nāṣirī says:—

"In short, Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn 'Iwaẓ, the Khalj, was a monarch worthy, just, and benevolent. The parts around about the state of Lakhaṇawaṭī, such as Jāj-nagar, the countries of Bang, Kāmrūd, and Tirhut, all sent tribute to him." (pp. 587-8).

Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn 'Iwaẓ was raised to the throne in about 608 A.H.; and the sending of tribute by Jāj-nagar is mentioned before the invasion of Bengal by I-yal-timish in 622 A.H. The invasion of Jāj-nagar to gather tributes thus apparently fell between 608 and 622 A.H., or between A.D. 1211 and 1224. The Mahomedans make inroads very often when the ruler of the country had just ascended the throne, or the defences of the country had been neglected by some civil war. Anaṅga Bhīma came to the throne in A.D. 1211-2, and the probability is that shortly after this time the Mahomedan inroad was made. This fixes

the anterior limit of the Cāṭēçvara inscription also. Several years would have elapsed between the minister Viṣṇu's fight with the Yavanas and the finishing of the temple. So, *Circa* 1120 A.D. may be taken as the likely date of the composition of the temple inscription.

Dr. Hoernle published in Plate VI, one gold coin (No. 22), which has got the letters "*Çrī ana*" and "*sa*" below them (Saṁvat), and two figures which I would read "24." Dr. Hultzsch took "ana" to mean Anantavarmman; but as I pointed out in my letter to Dr. Hoernle, dated 10th July, 1898, "ana" is more likely the abbreviation of a name, as Anaṅga Bhīma, than an abbreviation of a common title like Anantavarmman. If this view be correct, then No. 22 is applicable only to Anaṅga Bhīma Dēva III, whose regnal years exceeded 24.

The temples of Mukhaliṅgam or Çrīkūrmaṁ do not unfortunately contain any direct inscriptions of this king, but there are some which contain references to him. In No. 307 of Çrīkūrmaṁ, dated 1172 Çaka, Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁha Dēva, son of Anaṅga Bhīma Dēva, was ruling. In No. 349 of Çrīkūrmaṁ, dated Çaka 1177, certain lands in Ippili which had been previously granted by the king Anaṅga Bhīma, were regranted; No. 298 of Çrīkūrmaṁ, dated Çaka 1205, mentions a gift of lamp by the wife of one Nṛsiṁha Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya who was a contemporary of the king Anaṅga-Bhīma; No. 296 of Çrīkūrmaṁ, dated Çaka 1205, mentions another grant of the same lady.

In the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, this king is said to have been the most powerful of the whole family, to have built (in one version finished) the temple of Jagannātha, to have surveyed the whole kingdom, and to have made numerous grants. None of these statements has as yet been corroborated by inscriptions.

VIII. Nṛsiṁha Dēva I.

[Çaka 1160 — Çaka 1186.]

Only one inscription of his time has hitherto been found :—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 S. and T.	Çaka-va(*r)ṣaṁbuln 1172 nē[ṭi] Makara-çukla 13 yu Sōma-vāramuna Pratāpa-vīra-Çrī-Narasiṁhya-dēvarabhuja-vardhanagā, or Çaka 1172,	Ep. Rep., No. 307, of Çrī-kūrmam.	Verified.

XIV. Nṛsiṁha Dēva IV.

[Çaka 1300-1 — Reigning in Ç. 1324.]

The following inscriptions of this king's time are known :—

— Materials.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 S. & T.	Çāka-varṣabulu 1301 aguṇē Narasiṁhya-dēva-nṛpatē-stāttiryyak-āṅkē Ghaṭā-māsē Brahma-dinē..... (Then again) Vīra...si(*ṁ)hya-dēvasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara....kē vibhanya-mānē Kuṁbha-çukla-tritiyāyāṁ Guru-vārē, Çaka 1301, year 3, Kumbha Çu. 3, Thursday = 9th February, A.D. 1380.	Ep. Rep., No. 326, of Çrīkūrmam.	Verified.
2 S. & T.	Çaka-varaṣaṁbulu 1302 aguṇēṭi vīra-Çrī-Narasiṁha-dēvara pravar(*d)-dhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁh(v)atsaraṁbulu 4, çrāhi Kuṁbha kṛṣṇa 9 Guru-vārāna, or Çaka 1302(? 3), year 4, Kumbha Kṛ. 9, Thursday.	Ep. Rep., No. 329, of Çrīkūrmam; M*y MS. transcript (copy not having been received).	Irregular.
3 S.	Çaka-nṛpatē-ratītēṣu pañc-ādhikēṣu trayōdaça-çata-saṁvachcharēṣu caturdaça-dh(bhuv)an-ādhipat-īty-ādi-virud-āvalī-virājamānaḥ Çrīmān Nṛsiṁha-dēva-nṛpatēḥ sva-rājyasya aṣṭ-āṅkē abhilikhyamānē Caitrē māsi Çuklē pakṣē trayōdaçyāṁ tithau Ravi-vārē, or Çaka 1305 (?), year 8, Caitra Çu. 13, Sunday = 6th March, A.D. 1384.	Puri copper plates (A); J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 149.	Verified.
4 S.	Çaka-nṛpatē-ratītēṣu ṣōḍaç-ādhikēṣu trayōdaça-çata-saṁvatsarēṣu caturddaça-bhuvan-ādhipat-īty-ādi-virud-āvalī-virājamānaḥ Çrī-vīra-Nrasiṁha-dēva-nṛpatiḥ(ēḥ) sva-rājyasya dvāviṁçaty-aṅkē abhilikhyamānē Vichā-çukla-ēkādaçyāṁ Maṁgala-vārē, Çaka 1316 (?), Vichā, Çu. 11, Tuesday = A.D. 1395, 23rd November.	Puri Copperplates (B); J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 151.	Ditto.
5 S.	Asmin rājyē trayō-viṁçaty-aṅkē Vichā-dvitīya-kṛṣṇa-saptami Paṇḍita-vārē, or year 23, Vichā 2nd, Kṛ. 7, Tuesday = A.D. 1396, 22nd November.	Puri Copperplates (B); J.A.S.B., 1895, pp. 151-2.	Ditto.
6 O.	Ē çrāhi Mīna-saṁkrānti-kṛṣṇa-ēkādaçi Sani-vārē, or the same year, Mīna Saṅkrānti, Kṛ. 11, Saturday = A.D. 1397, 24th February.	Ditto, p. 152.	Ditto.
7 S.	Vīra-Çrī-Narasiṁhya-dēva-saṁkara vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 1324 aguṁnnēṁṭi Puṣya-çukla-paurṇṇami	Ep Rep., No. 299, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
	Candra-vārā-nanu, or Çaka 1324, Pauṣa Pūrṇimā, Monday = 7th January, A.D. 1403.		
8 S.	Çāk-ābdē ṣaḍa-p + -āgni-dvijapari-(ti) gaṇitē Çaitra-çukla-daçamyāṁ Gurvā-ahē.....	Ep. Rep., No. 279, of Çrīkūrmam.	Verified.
	Çrī-Nṛsiṁhya-kṣit-īndraḥ, or Çaka 13 + 6 (? 1346), Caitra Çu. 10, Thursday = 29th March, A.D. 1425.		
	Between A.H. 796-802, or between A.D. 1393-1399.	Raverty's Ṭab. Naṣ., footnote 4 to page 587 (below p. 589), [for date of the ruler, see Thomas' Chr. Path., Delhi, p. 320].	The first ruler of the Sharḳī dynasty of Jaunpūr compelled Jāj-nagar to pay tribute.
	815 A.H. or A.D. 1412.	Ditto, ditto (below p. 592).	Invasion of Jāj-nagar by Bahmanī Sulṭān Fīrūz.
	825 A.H. or A.D. 1422.	Jarrett's Aīn-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p 219, and its note 1; Brigg's Firishtah, IV, 178; Ṭabak. Naṣ, footnote 4 to page 587 (below p. 589).	Inroad of the Mālwah Sulṭān Hoshang into Jāj-nagar and his capture of its Rāe.

First year.

From the above inscriptions we get—

Çaka 1301-2		=	3rd	aṅka or 2nd	year
„ 1301	(? 1303-4)	=	4th	„ 3rd	„
„ 1305-6		=	8th	„ 6th	„
„ 1316	(? 1317-8)	=	22nd	„ 18th	„
„ (1318-9)		=	23rd	„ 19th	„
∴ „ 1300 1		=	1st year.		

Last date known.

The inscription, No. 299, of Çrīkūrmaṁ is dated Çaka 1324. The inscription, No. 279, is unfortunately broken; but if of Çaka 1346, then it would be the latest known date of this dynasty and probably of this king. No regnal years being given, this inscription may possibly belong to a successor.

Relationship and titles.

He was son of Bhānu Dēva III through his queen Hīrā Dēvī of *Cālukya Kula*. His name has been variously written as Vīra-Nrsiṁha-dēva, Vīra-Çrī-Narasiṁha Dēva, vīra-Çrī-Nrsiṁha Dēva, and in the copperplates he has been given *virudas beginning* with "caturdaça-bhuvan-ādhipati."

Historical facts.

If this is not an oriental hyperbole, the first king of the Sharḳī dynasty, Khwājah-i-Jahān, who ruled Jūnpūr from 796 to 802 A.H., is said to have compelled Lakhaṇawaṭī and Jāj-nagar to pay him tributes. In 815 A.H. Sulṭān Fīrūz of the Bahmanī dynasty entered Jāj-nagar and carried off a number of elephants.

In 825 A.H., Ḥusān-ud-dīn Hoshang, the second independent king of Mālwah, made an adventurous raid into Jāj-nagar, which is thus described in the Āīn-i-Akbari :—

"On one occasion cunningly disguised as a merchant, he set out for Jāj-nagar. The ruler of that country accompanied by a small retinue visited the caravan. Hoshang took him prisoner and hastened back. While journeying together, Hoshang told him that he had been induced to undertake this expedition in order to procure a supply of elephants, and added that if his people attempted a rescue, the prince's life should pay the penalty. The prince, therefore, sending for a number of valuable elephants, presented them to him and was set at liberty."

XV. The Dark Period.

[? Çaka 1346 — Çaka 1356-7.]

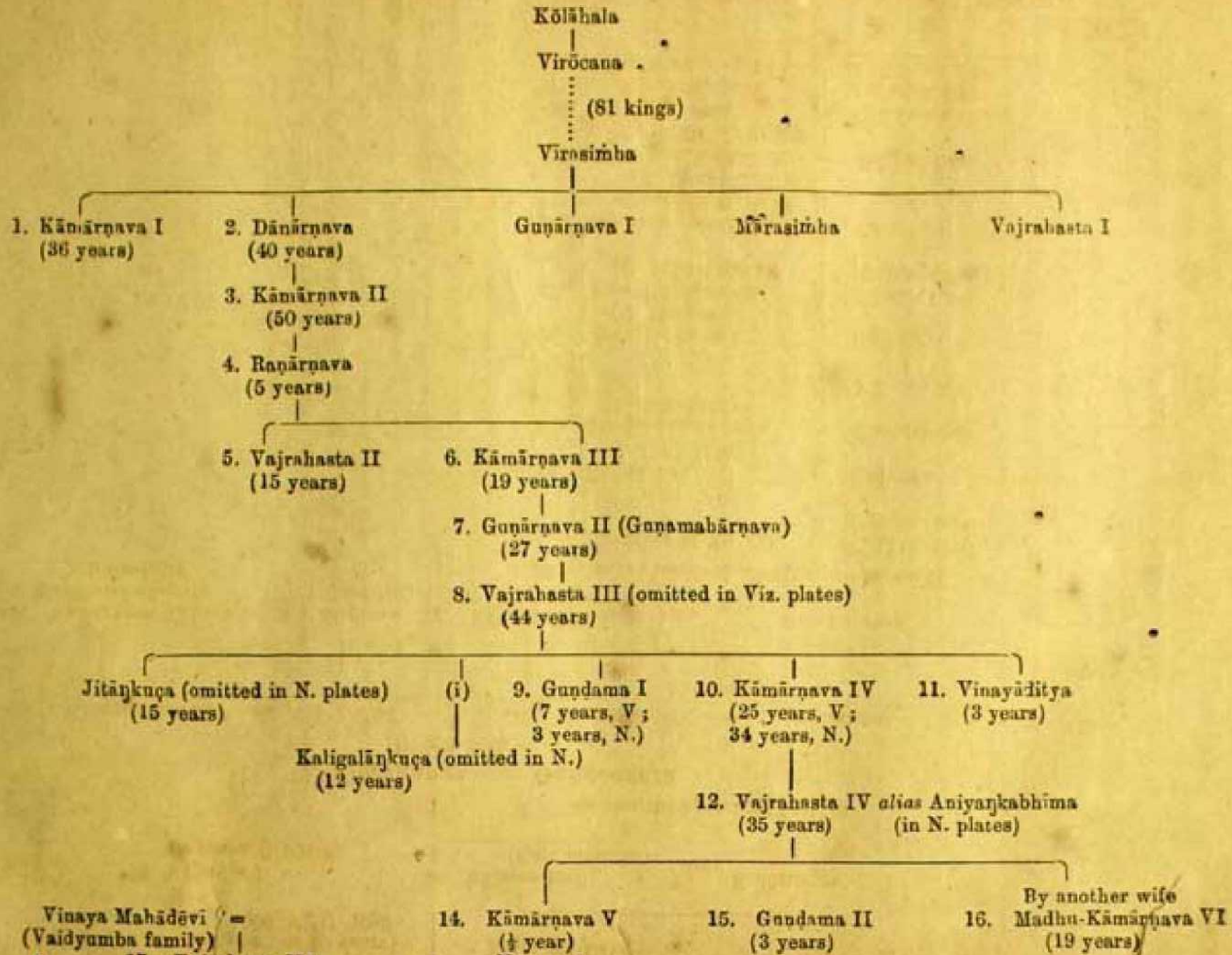
This period has no inscriptions and is thus shrouded in darkness.

? Bhānu Dēva IV.

According to the Mādaḷā Pāñji or Chronicles of Jagannātha temple, the last king of *Gayga-vaṁça* was Bhānu Dēva (? IV) surnamed *Akaṭā-Abaṭā*, and according to one version *Matta*. When he died, his minister Kapilēndra *alias* Kapilēçvara Dēva usurped the throne and founded the *Sūryya-vaṁça*. His inscriptions show his reign to have begun in Çaka 1356-7 or A.D. 1434-5. [See my article on the *Sūryya-vaṁça* kings, J.A.S.B., 1900, p. 180 *et seq.*]

Appendix I.

A Genealogical Table of the Eastern Gaṅga kings.



(crowned Çaka 960, N. plates)
(33 years or 30 years)
V., Ç. 1003, V., Ç. 1040. | Rājēndra Dēva

18. Rājarāja I. = Rājasundarī — Kulōttuṇga
(8 years, Ç. 991-8). | (Cōḷa princess)

an unnamed younger brother

19. **Cōṛagaṅga** *alias* **Gaṅgēçvara**
(Ç. 998–1069)

= i. Kastūrikāmōdinī = ii. Indirā | = iii. Candralēkhā = iv. Lakṣmī = v. Pṛithvī — Umāvallabha

Ahīrāma

20. Kāmārṇava VII *alias* Madhu-Kāmārṇava (Ç. 1069–1078)
21. Rāghava (Ç. 1078–1092)
22. Rājarāja II (Ç. 1092–1112) = Suramā — Svapnēçvara

23. Aniyaṅkabhīma *alias* Anaṅgabhīma II (Ç. 1112–1120)
(brother of No. 22) = Bāghalla Dēvī

24. Rājarāja II (Ç. 1120–1133) = Sadguṇa or Maṅkuṇa
25. Anaṅgabhīma Dēva (Ç. 1133–1160) = Kasturā Dēvī

Mālacandra

26. Nṛsiṁha Dēva I (Ç. 1160–86) = Sitā Dēvī
27. Vīra Bhānu Dēva I (Ç. 1186–1200-1) = Jākalla Dēvī (Cālukya family)
28. Nṛsiṁha *alias* Nara-nārasiṁha Dēva II (Ç. 1200-1–1227-8) = Cōṛa Dēvī
29. Vīra Bhānu Dēva II (Ç. 1227-8–1249-50) = Lakṣmī Dēvī
30. Nṛsiṁha *alias* Naranārasiṁha (Ç. 1249-50–1274-5) = i. Kāmala Dēvī; ii. Gaṅgā Dēvī; iii. Kōmmi Dēvī

Sitā Dēvī

31. Vīra Bhānu Dēva III (Ç. 1274-5–1300-1) = Hirā Dēvī
32. Nṛsiṁha Dēva IV (reigning in Ç. 1324, and probably in Ç. 1346)

APPENDIX II.

The Date of Ēkāvalī.

The Work.

The Ēkāvalī was first described at length in Dr. Bhaṇḍārkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1887-1891, pages lxv.-lxxi. Last year (1903) it was printed in the Bombay Sanskrit series, as No. 63, under the editorship of Mr. Kamalāçaṅkara Prāṇaçaṅkara Trivedī, with an introduction, Mallināṭha's Ṭīkā *Taralā*, lengthy notes in English, and several indices, making up a fairly big volume of 780 pages.

Its Contents.

The Ēkāvalī is divided into eight *Unmēṣas* or openings (*i.e.*, chapters). The Text consists of *kārikās* or the rules of Poetic art (in verse), and *Vṛttis* or comments (in prose), with *udāharaṇas* or examples (in verse). Most of these *udāharaṇas* are the author's own, composed in praise of the king Nrsiṁha Dēva, as the author himself says in *kārikā* 7 of the 1st Chapter (p. 15). I say 'most' advisedly, and not 'all' as Mr. Trivedī says (Introd. p., xii), as will appear from the following analysis of the *udāharaṇas*:

Unmēṣas.		Total Examples.		Examples in praise of Nṛsiṁha Dēva
I.	...	3	...	1
II.	...	18	...	12
III.	...	59	...	34
IV.	...	19	...	19
V.	...	3	...	0
VI.	...	54	...	50
VII.	...	11	...	8
VIII.	...	197	...	190
Total	...	364	...	314.

Its date.

Ēkāvalī's date is discussed in Dr. Bhaṇḍārkar's "report," p. lxvi. *et seq.*, and his supplementary note in the Introduction to the Ekāvalī, pp. xxxiii-xxxvii; and this is practically followed by Mr. Trivedī in his own Introduction, pp. xvi-xxiii.

Depends upon the identification of the panegyrised king.

Having been quoted in Singabhupāla's Rasārṇavasudhākara and commented upon by Mallinātha, both of the latter half of the 14th century, Ēkāvalī cannot be put later than that century. The verses in praise of Nrsiṁha Dēva, king

of Utkala and Kaliṅga, can therefore reasonably apply only to Nṛsiṁha Dēva I (Çaka 1160–1186), or to Nṛsiṁha Dēva II (Çaka 1200-1—1227-8).

The Reasons for identifying him with Nṛsiṁha Dēva II.

Both Dr. Bhaṇḍārkar and Mr. Trivedī identify the panegyrised king with Nṛsiṁha Dēva II, mainly on the following grounds:—

Firstly, Ēkāvalī refers to certain "Hammīra," in *Hammīra-kṣitipāla-cētasi* (p. 176), *vikṣya Hammīram* (p. 177), *Hammīra-māna-mardana* (pp. 257, 260). This Hammīra whose pride is humbled is identified with the Cōhāna prince of Çākambharī (A.D. 1283–1301) [*vide* "Report," pp. lxvii–viii; Introd., p. xxiii].

Secondly, in *kārikā* 11 (p. 19), the poet Harihara is said to have got amazing wealth from Arjuna (the king of Malwa). The latest known date of this Paramāra prince is 9th September A.D. 1215, and Harihara thus "flourished during the early decades of the 13th century" ["Report," p. lxvi; Introd., p. xxi]. A sufficiently long time should be allowed to pass the news on from Malwa to Orissa, and the later the date the better.

Thirdly, in the copperplate Inscriptions of Nṛsiṁha Dēva IV, Nṛsiṁha Dēva II is described as *kavi-priyaḥ*, and *kavi-kumuda-candraḥ*, epithets given him probably for patronising poets like Vidyādhara. A somewhat similar expression, I find, is applied to the Ēkāvali's Nṛsiṁha, *Kavi-kula-kumuda-vyūha-nakṣatra-nāthaḥ* (p. 160).

To these I would add one more ground, seemingly the strongest, deduced from the date of Mahima Bhaṭṭa, whom Vidyādhara criticises in p. 32, and apparently follows in pp., 173-177. Mahima Bhaṭṭa's date is not yet ascertained, and his Alaṇkāra work *vyakti-vivēka* is not yet published. But from certain passages in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, he would seem to be not earlier than Candraçēkhara, who composed a stanza in praise of Bhānu Dēva (presumably I). The passages in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* run as follows:—

While criticising the opinion in the *Vyakti-viveka* that from inference (*anumāna*) one is capable of perceiving the suggested meanings of sentiments (*Kārikā* 270), Viçvanātha goes on to say in the last part of his *Vṛtti*—

"Regarding the verse beginning with 'by his forts impassable &c,' the allegation of Mahima Bhaṭṭa that no second meaning exists in it,—that is verily an elephantine wink to deny what is established by (actual) perception."

This verse is of Chandraçēkhara, father of Viçvanātha, and is quoted in the latter's *Vṛtti* to *kārikās* 25, and 257, with the following comments.—

"By his forts impassable in battle, excelling Cupid by his splendour, waited upon by prosperous kings, venerable, surrounded on all sides by nobles, not (even) looking at the Kṣattriya chiefs (so high he is), with deep devotion to him whose father-in-law is the Mountain (Çiva), holding the earth in possession, with a form adorned with dignity, shines (the king) the beloved of Umā." [The other meaning is in connection with Çiva].

Comments on this in the *Vṛtti* to *Kār.* 25 :—

"In this case (the words) "the beloved of Umā" being applied by denotation to the queen named Umā and her beloved the king Bhānudēva, are to be understood as applicable by suggestion to the beloved of Gaurī (Çiva)."

Again in the *Vṛtti* to *Kār.* 257 :—

"Here in this case, lest the description of the king Bhānudēva the beloved of the queen named Umā, may not (apparently) be connected with the description of (Çiva) the beloved of Pārvati, as indicated in the second meaning, what is hinted at is that Bhānudēva and Içvara stand to each other as the compared (*upamāna*) with what it is compared to (*upamēya*). Hence here (this) Umā-beloved (Bhānudēva) is like (that) Umā-beloved (Çiva), that is, the suggested sense is a figure of speech—the figure of speech of simile."

According to Viçvanātha, therefore, the above stanza of his father was made in praise of the king Bhānu Dēva (presumably I), and therefore Mahima Bhaṭṭa who criticised the same cannot be put earlier. As Vidyādhara refers to Mahima Bhaṭṭa he cannot be earlier than this Bhānu Dēva, and the Nṛsiṁha Dēva he eulogises was presumably Bhānu Dēva's son Nṛsiṁha Dēva II.

These arguments are, however, open to several objections which may be mentioned here *seratim*.

Objections.

The strongest objection is that in the Ekāvalī the king Nṛsiṁha Dēva is described to have fought with the Mahomedans, and to have fought in Bengal on the banks of the Ganges. The battles with the Mahomedans are indicated in the examples having the words,—*Yavan-āvani-vallabha* [p. 202], *Çak-ādhīçvara* [p. 326] and *Hammīra*. The title *Hammīra* should preferably be taken as that of the Mahomedans, having been in coins and inscriptions specially applied to the early Mahomedan rulers of India and Ghazni [see references, supra p. 124, and Cat., Ind. Mus. Coins, Part I, pp. 2-36]. This title had begun to be used before A.D. 1187 [Ind. Ant. Vol. xv, p. 11] and continued to be used by the Sulṭans of Delhi till the time of Balban [A.D. 1265-1287]. Then again, the fight with the Bengalis, *Bayga-saygara-sīmani* [p. 203], and the reference to the waves of the Ganges, *Gaygā-tarayga-*

dhavalāni [p. 136] apparently speak of Nṛsiṁha's fight with the Bengal Viceroys of the Delhi Sulṭans.

Not a single record has yet been found in which Nṛsiṁha Dēva II. is credited with any war against the Mahomedans, or with any invasion of Bengal; on the other hand the most prominent historical fact regarding Nṛsiṁha Dēva I. is that his army invaded Bengal up to Gauṛa, and fought several times successfully with the Bengal Mahomedans.

Secondly, Nṛsiṁha Dēva I. ruled from A.D. 1238-1264; so the latter part of his rule is fairly well removed from the time of the poet Harihara and the king Arjuna to permit the story of Arjuna's liberal gifts to pass on from Malwa to Orissa. Furthermore, the copper-plate epithets of Nṛsiṁha Dēva II. being vague and merely complimentary can hardly be relied upon; the Sanskrit poets in their *praçastis* generally without discrimination pile one epithet upon the other in praise of their patrons.

Thirdly, the deduction from the date of Mahima Bhaṭṭa and his *vyakti-vivēka* would be almost unassailable if it can be shown beyond doubt that the criticism on Candraçēkhara's stanza was made in the *vyakti-vivēka*, that the stanza referred to Bhānu Dēva I., and that this work Vidyādhara criticised. Otherwise, it is possible to argue that the criticism of Candraçēkhara's verse was made in a later work, or that Vidyādhara criticised some work of Mahima Bhaṭṭa other than the *vyakti-vivēka*, or that *Umā-vallabha* is some prince different from Bhānu Dēva I. Vidyādhara mentions only the name Mahima Bhaṭṭa and not the work; and so, too, in the para of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* as quoted above.

Fourthly, in *Kārikā* 11 [p. 18] the poet Çrīharṣa is praised very highly as one who "gained world-wide fame by making the poem." Evidently Vidyādhara knew Çrīharṣa's poem well. If so, was the Ṭīkā on *Naiṣadha-Caritam*, known as *Sāhitya-vidyādhara*, made by him? This Ṭīkā is certainly older than the Vikrama year 1353 (A.D. 1296) in which year Paṇḍit Cāṇḍu completed his Ṭīkā, *Naiṣadha-Dīpikā* at Ahmedabad; cf. his verse beginning with—

Ṭīkām yady-api sōpapatiracanāṁ vidyādharō nirmamē,

[see Nirṇaya-sāgara Press Edition, Introd, p. 7,]. From the extracts given at the footnote of the N.P. edition, the comments in *Sāhitya-vidyādhara* would appear to be more or less rhetorical, which would be natural with such an Alaṇkarist as the author of the Ēkāvalī.

If this identification holds good, then between the Ṭīka of Vidyādhara in Orissa and a Tīkā at Ahmedabad, a sufficiently long time should be allowed, a longer time ordinarily in the case of a Ṭīkā than in the case of say, an original poem or Alaṇkāra work. If 30 or 35 years be

deemed reasonable, then Vidyādhara's time falls during the rule of Nṛsiṁha Dēva I., and not of Nṛsiṁha Dēva II.

Sāhityadarpaṇa: its date and place.

Before concluding this article I may point out that I am not satisfied with the time at, and the locality in which, the *Sāhitya darpaṇa* is said to have been composed. Dr. Weber following Paṇḍit Jaganmohan Çarman in the preface to his edition of *Caṇḍa-kauçika*, said that "the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* was only composed towards the middle of the 15th century in East Bengal on the banks of the Brahmaputra" [Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 231, note 244]. Prof. Macdonell evidently adopts this view [Sans. Lit., App. p. 434].

How far this conclusion is based on facts, and how far on mere traditions I do not know. But the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* itself does not support it. From the verse and comments quoted above, it is clear that Candraçēkhara, father of Viçvanātha, was a contemporary of a Bhānu Dēva; and if of Bhānu Dēva I., then, Viçvanātha lived during the rule of his son, Nṛsiṁha Dēva II. [A.D. 1279-1306], or at the latest during the rule of his grandson Bhānu Dēva II. [A.D. 1306-1328]. In the *vṛtti* to *Kārikā* 236, a Mahomedan king, *Allāpadīna*, is named, which may refer to the Delhi Sulṭān, 'Alā-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh [A.D. 1241-1246], or to the later and greater king, 'Alā-ud-dīn Muḥammad Shāh [A.D. 1295-1315]. One stanza in praise of a king Nṛsiṁha is quoted in the *vṛtti* to *kār.* 671; but it is not to be found in the Ēkāvalī. The other historical allusions are *Suratrāṇa*, or Sulṭan [*vṛ.* to *kār.* 686.], *Gauḍ-ēndra* [*vṛ.* to *kār.* 17], and *Tri-Kaliṅga-bhūmi-tilaka* [*vr.* to *kār.* 258].

From the references above quoted with others to *Kaliṅga* [*vṛ.* to *kār.* 13, 15, and 17], to *Rāghavānanda* [*vṛ.* to *kār.* 3 and 120], and to Mahima Bhaṭṭa's *vyakti-vivēka* [*vṛ.* to *kār.* 2 and 257], Viçvanātha would seem to be an author not of East Bengal, but of Orissa; while his time would be at least not later than the beginning of the 14th century A.D.

Viçvanātha evidently came of a learned family. His great-great-grandfather, Nārāyaṇa, [*vṛ.* to *kar.* 33], and his grandfather's younger brother Caṇḍīdāsa [*vr.* to *kār.* 266, and 60], are described as leading scholars. His father, Candraçēkhara, was a minister and a scholar, and has been referred to in nine places, while his poem *Puṣpa-mālā* and Prākṛta work *Bhāṣ-ārṇava* have been specially mentioned. Viçvanātha quotes frequently from his own works (56 times as *mama*), and mentions or quotes from, as his own works, *Kuvalayāçva-caritam*, a Prākṛta poem (2 times), *Candrakalā*, a *nāṭikā* (7 times), *Prabhāvatī-pariṇayam*, a drama (10 times), *Praçasti-ratnavālī*, a work in *16 bhāṣās* (1 time), and Rāghavavilāsa, a *Mahākāvya* (2 times).

In the *Sāhityā-darpaṇa* I have been unable to find out any quotation from or any mention of the Ēkāvalī, a fact which may somewhat go in favour of Ekāvalī's later date. Can Cōṛagaṇga's son Umāvallabha be connected in any way with the Umāvallabha of Candraçēkhara's stanza? Mahima Bhaṭṭa is quoted in *Alaṇkārā-sarvasva* as *vyakti-vivēka-kāra*, and is there quoted as an authority; while *Alaṇkāra-sarvasva-kāra* is quoted in the Ekāvalī as an authority. A fairly long time should therefore be allowed between Mahima Bhaṭṭa and Vidyādhara, a fact which lends some support to the identification of Candraçēkhara's *Umāvallabha*, Cōṛagaṇga's son.

INDEX

TO THE

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

VOL. LXXII., PART I. NOS. 1 AND 2.—1903.

[As the transliteration of Sanskrit words in this Volume is not uniform, the system of the Royal Asiatic Society, which has recently been adopted by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has been followed in this Index. Thus words with श should be looked for under *S*, not under *Ç*.]

Abdul-Jalīl, Shaikh, 38.
Abdullāh Khān, 42
Abhai Singh, *prince*, 49.
Abhayadeva, *king*, 8.
Adityamalla, *king*, 10.
Afghans, 34.
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No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References	Remarks.
	Makara Çu. 13, Monday = 6th February, A.D. 1251.		
	6th Zī-ḳa'dah, A.H. 641, Saturday = 16th April, A.D. 1244.	Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri, Translation by Major Raverty, p. 738.	Fight with Malik Tughril-i-Tughān Khān at Katāsin.
	13th Shawwāl, A.H. 642, Tuesday = 14th March A.D., 1245.	Ditto, pp. 665, 739, 762-3.	The invasion of Bengal by Jāj-nagar forces, and their arrival opposite Lakhaṇawaṭi.
	Between A.H. 644-656 (A.D. 1247-1258).	Ditto, pp. 762-3.	Three battles with Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-din Yūz-bak-i-Tughril Khān.
	"The following year"	Ditto, p. 763.	Invasion and capture of Umurdan, the Rāe's capital, by Malik Yūzbak.

First and last years. No regnal years being available, the year of reign has been deduced from the figure given in Puri and Kēndupāṭnā Plates, *viz.*, 33, which as aṅka is equal to 24th year. See remarks under Rājarāja III [*supra* p. 117].

Relationship. The king was son of Anaṇga-Bhīma Dēva by his wife Kastūrā Dēvi. In Ep. Rep., No. 307, he is also described as born of the king Anaṇga-Bhīma. The name is generally written as Narasiṁha.

Historical Facts. The copperplates speak of the king's invasion of Rāṛhā and Varēndra and the defeat of Yavanas there. This fight with Bengal Mahomedans is corroborated by Ṭabaḳat-i-Nāṣiri. I quote the passages in full, as being

the statements of a contemporary, and, in one instance, of an eye-witness:—

"In the year 641 H., the Rāe of Jāj-nagar commenced molesting "the Lakhaṇawaṭī territory; and in the month of Shawwāl, 641 H. "Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khan marched towards the Jāj-nagar coun- "try, and this servant of the State [Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī] accom- "panied him on that holy expedition. On reaching Katāsin, which was "the boundary of Jāj-nagar [on the side of Lakhaṇawaṭī], on Saturday "the 6th of the month of Ẓi-ḳa'dah 641 H., Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān "Khān made his troops mount, and an engagement commenced. The "holy-warriors of Islām passed over two ditches, and the Hindū infidels "took to flight. So far as they continued in the author's sight, except "the fodder which was before their elephants, nothing fell into the "hands of the footmen of the army of the Islām, and moreover, Malik "Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān's commands were that no one should molest "the elephants, and for this reason the fierce fire of battle subsided."

"When the engagement had been kept up until midday the foot- "men of the Musalmān army—everyone of them—returned [to the "camp ?] to eat their food, and the Hindūs, in another direction stole "through the cane *Jangal*, and took five elephants; and about two "hundred foot and fifty horsemen came upon the rear of a portion of "the Musalmān army. The Muḥammadans sustained an overthrow, "and a great number of these holy warriors attained martyrdom; and "Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān retired from that place without having "effected his object, and returned to Lakhaṇawaṭī." (p. 738).

"In the same year likewise [642 H.], the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, in order to avenge the plundering of Katāsin, which had taken place the preceding year, as has been already recorded, having turned his face towards Lakhaṇawaṭī territory, on Tuesday, the 13th of the month of Shawwāl, 642 H., the army of infidels of Jāj-nagar, consisting of elephants, and *pāyiks* [foot-men] in great numbers, arrived opposite Lakhaṇawaṭī. Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān came out of the city to confront them. The infidel host, on coming beyond the frontier of the Jāj-nagar territory, first took Lakhaṇ-or; and Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Karīm-ud-din, Lāghrī, who was the feudatory of Lakhaṇ-or, with a body of Musalmāns, they made martyrs of, and after that, appeared before the gate of Lakhaṇawaṭī. The second day after that, swift messengers arrived from above [the Do-ābah and Awadh, &c.], and gave information respecting the army of Islām that it was near at hand. Panic now took possession of the infidels, and they decamped." (pp. 739-40).

This inroad up to Lakhaṇawaṭī is also indicated in the following:—

"The leader of the forces of Jāj-nagar was a person, by name,

Sāban-tar[Sāwantara ?], the son-in-law of the Rāe, who during the time of Malik 'Izz-ud-din Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, had advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhaṇawaṭi, and having shown the greatest audacity, had driven the Musalmān forces as far as the gate [of the city] of Lakhaṇawaṭi." (pp. 762-3).

"In the year 642 H., the infidels of Jāj-nagar appeared before the gate of Lakhaṇawaṭi." (p. 665).

Other fights with a succeeding Bengal ruler also took place during this king's time.

"After he" [Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Yūz-bak-i-Ṭughril Khān] "went to that part, and brought that country" [Lakhaṇawaṭi] "under his jurisdiction, hostility arose between him and the Rāe of Jāj-nagar. The leader of the forces of Jāj-nagar was a person, by name, Sāban-tar" . . . [see above]. In Malik Ṭughril Khān-i-Yūz-bak's time, judging from the past, he [the Jāj-nagar leader] manifested great boldness, and fought, and was defeated. Again, another time, Malik Ṭughril Khān-i-Yūz-bak fought an engagement with the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, and again came out victorious.

"On a third occasion, Malik Yūz-bak sustained a slight reverse, and a white elephant than which there was no other more valuable in that part, and which was ruttish, got out of his hands in the field of battle, and fell into the hands of the infidels of Jāj-nagar.

"The following year, however, Malik Yūz-bak asked assistance from the court of Delhi, and then marched an army from Lakhaṇawaṭi into the territory of Umurdan, and unexpectedly reached the Rāe's capital, which city they style Ūmurdan. The Rāe of that place retired before Malik Yūz-bak, and the whole of the Rāe's family, dependants, and followers, and his wealth, and elephants, fell into the hands of the Musalmān forces." (p. 763).

Minhāj-i-Sarāj gives the dates of the fights with Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān (A.H. 641-2); but gives no dates of the fights with Malik Ṭughril Khān-i-Yūz-bak. The latter could not have got Bengal before Malik Tamur Khān-i-ḳi-rān who died on "Friday, the end of the month of Shawwāl," A.H. 644, or A.D. 1247, March (p. 741); and he must have ceased to rule before the capture of Lakhaṇawaṭī by Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Arsalān Khān Sanjar-i-chast, in 657 A.H. or A.D., 1259, when Malik 'Izz-ud-dīn Balban-i-Yūz-bakī is said to have been the feudatory in charge of Lakhaṇawaṭī (pp. 769-70).

In J.A.S.B., LXV, 1896, pp. 232-4, Babu N. N. Vasu has argued that the "Saban-tar" who led the forces of Jāj-nagar was probably Narasiṁha Dēva I, and "that Minhāj, by mistake has described the son to be the son-in-law." Now that the fights have been in this

article shewn to have taken place in the time of Nṛsiṁha Dēva himself he will not, I trust, be identified with his son-in-law, the sātrā (lit. Sāmanta-Rāya).

Nṛsiṁha Dēva I will be remembered, however, by posterity, as the king under whose orders the great temple of Kaṇārka was built. All the copperplates agree in ascribing to him the erection of the sun Temple at Kōṇākōṇa.

In Çrīkūrmam temple no inscription of the king himself has been found. No. 307 records a grant by one Sāhasa-malla during this king's reign. In No. 352 is recorded a grant by one Vijayāditya whose father Rājarāja was a minister (*maṁtri*) of this king, Vīra Nṛsiṁha I; [see Dr. Hultzsch, Ep. Ind., Vol. V., p. 33].

Dr. R. G. Bhaṇḍārkar has discovered an Alaṅkāra work, Ēkāvalī, whose author Vidyādhara flourished in the court of a Narasiṁha Dēva, king of Utkala and Kaliṅga, (Narasiṁha II., according to Dr. Bhaṇḍārkar), [Report on Sanskrit MSS., 1887-91, pp. LXV-LXIX]. This king I am inclined to identify with Nṛsiṁha Dēva I, from the mention in the poem of the poet Harihara and his patron king Arjuna of Mālwa (whose latest known date is 9th September, A.D. 1215), and from Vidyādhara's description of the Utkala king as having humbled the pride of Hammīra, this being a title of the early Sulṭāns of Delhi. [See Thomas, Chron. Paṭh. kings, pp. 15, 16, 20, 50, 70, 71, 75, 90, 91, 103, 108, 119, 123, 127, 137; Ind. Ant., Vol. XX., p. 208 *et seq.*; J.A.S.B., Vol. XLIII, p. 108].

[Since writing this, the Ēkāvalī has been printed in the Bombay Sanskrit Series under the editorship of Mr. K. P. Trivedi; and thanks to Dr. Bhaṇḍārkar I have just got a copy of it. In the introductory note (pp. xxxiii—xxxvii), Dr. Bhaṇḍārkar is still inclined to take the king to be Narasiṁha Dēva II, chiefly from the fact that he is described in the Puri copperplates as "kavi-priyaḥ" (A. IV. 42), and "kavi-kumuda-candrō" (A. V. 3). This identification, however, does not explain the specific mention of the fights with "Hammīra," "Yavana" and "Çaka" kings in Bengal, (*cf.* pp. 176, 177, 202, 203, 257, 260, 326). Nṛsiṁha Dēva II has nowhere been credited with any invasion of Bengal or with any war against the Mahomedans. For a fuller discussion, see Appendix II.]

Ēkāvalī is fortunate enough to have got a commentary named Taralā from the great commentator Mallinātha. It has been several times quoted in the *citra-mimāṁsā* and *kuvalayānanda* of Appaya Dikṣita

IX. Bhānu Dēva I.

[Çaka 1186 — Çaka 1200-1].

The following two inscriptions of this king's time are known :—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 S.	Çāk-ābdē lōka-ratn-ābani-çaçi-gaṇ i t ē Vṛiçcikaṁ yāti bhānau çuklē Kaṁd-darppa-tithyāṁ mmududsali-sacivā (?vo) Bhānu-dēv-ābhivṛd d h a i, or Çaka 1193, Çu. 5 (?), Vṛçcika month, no week-day.	Ep. Rep., No. 351, of Çrīkūrmam.	Unverifiable.
2 S.	Çāk-ābdē çaila-ratna-kṣiti-çaçi-gaṇ i t ē Kārttikē çukla-pakṣē Saumyē-vārē daçamyāṁ Vīra-Çri-Bhānu-dēv a s y a, or Çaka 1197, Kārttika Çu. 10, Wednesday = 30th October, A.D. 1275.	Ep. Rep., No. 353, of Çrīkūrmam.	Verified.

First and Last year.

Regnal years wanting, the year of the Kēndupāṭnā copperplates has been accepted, *viz.*, 18 aṅkas, equal to fifteenth year. The last year of this king is ascertained from the initial year of his successor, as 1200-1 Çaka.

Relationship.

Bhānu Dēva was son of Nṛsiṁha Dēva I by Sitā Dēvī, daughter of Mālacandra. He is also called Vīra-Bhānu Dēva.

In the copperplates he is said to have given one hundred grants of lands with houses and gardens to good Çrōtriya Brāhmaṇas, written on copperplates.

X. Nṛsiṁha Dēva II.

[Çaka 1200-1 — Çaka 1227-28].

A considerable number of inscriptions of this king's time has been brought to light :—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1201 guṇēṁṭi Pra-tāpa-Vīra - Çrī - Narasiṁhya - dēvaru (ra ?) pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya saṁvvatsaraṁbulu 3 gu çrūhi Caitra-	Ep. Rep., No. 356, of Çrīkūrmam.	Verified.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
	kri(r)ṣṇa 13 yu Guru-vāramuna, or Çaka 1201, year 3, Caitra Kṛ. 13. Thursday = 1st March, A.D. 1280 (Pūrṇimānta).		
2 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1204 gunēṁṭi Vīra-Narasiṁhya-dēvara Vijaya-rājya-saṁvvatsaraṁbulu [7] gu çrāhi Makara-kṛṣṇa 7 yu Guru-vāramunāṁ, or Çaka 1204, year 7, Makara Kṛ. 7, Thursday = 21st January, A.D. 1283 (amānta).	Ep. Rep., No. 375, of Çrīkūrmam.	Verified.
3 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1211 gunēṁṭi Vīra-Çrī-Nārasiṁhya-dēvaru (ra) vijaya-rājya-saṁvvatsaraṁbulu 14 gu çrāhi Mithuna-çukla 1[3] yu Maṁgalavāramuna, or Çaka 1211 (current), year 14 (?12), Mithuna Çu. 13, Tuesday = 13th July, A.D. 1288.	Ep. Rep., No. 297, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.
4 S.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 1212 nēṁṭi Vīra-Çrī-Narasiṁhya-dēvara vijya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 14 çrāhi Mēṣa-çukla 4 Çukra-vāramuna, (or on another face) Çāka-varṣē ravi-ravi-gaṇitē Mēṣa-çauklyāṁ caturthyāṁ sō-yaṁ Çukrasya-vārē, or Çaka 1212, year 14, Mēṣa Çu. 4, Friday = 14th April, A.D. 1290.	Ep. Rep., No. 272, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.
5 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1212 gu nē ṁ ṭṭi Pratāpa-Vīra-Çrī-Narasiṁhya-dēvaru (ra) pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 15 gu çrāhi Makara-çukla 10 yu Guru-vāramuna, or Çaka 1212, year 15, Makara Çu. 10, Thursday = 11th January, A.D. 1291.	Ep. Rep., No. 335, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.
6 S. & T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1214 agu nē ṁ ṭi Pratāpa-Vīra-Çrī-Narasiṁha-dēvaru (ra) pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya saṁvatsaraṁbulu 17 agu çrāhi Mārgaçira-kṛṣṇa 10 yu Çukrē(a)-vāramuna, (or in words) Çāka-varṣē manu-ravi-gaṇitē Mārga-kṛṣṇē daçamyāṁ Çukrē-vārē, or Çaka 1214, year 17, Mārgaçīrṣa Kṛ. 10, Friday = 5th December, A.D. 1292 (amānta).	Ep. Rep., No. 304, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.
7 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1215 gunēṁḍu Vīra-Çrī-Naranārasiṁha-dēvaru (ra), vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbu[lu] 18 gu çrāhi Riṣava-çukla-paurṇamiyu	Ep. Rep., No. 367, of Çrīkūrmaṁ; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp 267-8.	Ditto.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	REMARKS.
	Guru-vāramuna, or Çaka 1215, year 18, Ṛṣava pūrṇimā, Thursday = 21st May, 1293 A.D.		
8 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1215* gunēṁḍu Çrī-Vīra-Naranārasiṁhya-ra[va]tudēvaru(ra) pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-Saṁvatsaraṁbulu 18 gu çrāhi [Ā]ṣ[āṛha]-çukla 1[3] yu Çukravaramuna, or Çaka 1215, year 18, Āṣāṛha Çu. 13, Friday, [19th June, A.D. 1293, if Çu. 14].	Ep. Rep., No. 363, of Çrīkūrmaṁ.	Irregular.
9 S.	Çaka-nṛpatitaḥ samatitē-ṣṭayā-daç-ōttara-dvādaça-çata-vatsarēṣu Mēṣa-çukla-pañcamyān-Guru-vārē, or Çaka 1218 (current), Mēṣa Çu. 5, Thursday = 21st April A.D. 1295.	The Kēndupāṭnā copperplates, series 3, the *Viçva-kōṣa*, article "Gāṇgēya," Vol. V, p. 321 *et seq.*	Verified.
10 S.	Çapta-daç-ōttara-dvādaça-çata-mitē gatavati Çaka-vatsarē... Mēṣa-kṛṣṇa-caturdaçyāṁ Sauri-vārē ..... svarājyasya dvā-viṁçaty-aṇkē, or Çaka 1217, year 22, Mēṣa Kṛ. 14, Saturday = 14th May, A.D. 1295 (Pūrṇimānta).	The Kēndupāṭnā copperplates, series 2; the *Viçva-kōṣa* article "Gāṇgēya," Vol. V, p. 321 *et seq.*	Ditto.
11 S.	Çapta-daç-ōttara-dvādaça-çata-çaka-vatsarē Çrī-Vīra-Narasiṁha-dēva-mahīpatiḥ sva-rājyasy-āika-viṁçaty-aṇkē-bhilikhyamānē Siṁha-çukla-ṣaṣṭhyāṁ Sōma-vārē or Çaka 1217(8), year 21, Siṁha Çu. 6, Monday = 6th August, A.D. 1296.	The Kēndupāṭnā copperplates (series 1), Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. LXV, 1896, p. 254, lines 16-7 of Plate V, obverse.	Ditto.
12 S. & T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1219 gunēṁḍu Vīra-Çrī-Narasiṁhya-dē[va]sya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu, 23 gu çrāhi Karkāṭaka-çukla 5 Guru-vāramuna. (or in words) çāka-varṣē maṇi-çaçi-ravigē Çrāvaṇē çukla-pakṣē pañcamyāṁ jiva-vārē, or Çaka 1219, year 23, Karkāṭaka Çu. 5, Thursday = 25th July, A.D. 1297.	Ep. Rep., No. 323, of Çrīkūrmaṁ.	Ditto.
13 T.	Vīra-Çrī-Narasiṁhya-dēvara vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara 33 aṁka çrāhi Caitra çuddha-paurnnamī ravi-v[ā]rē, or year 33, Caitra pūrṇimā, Sunday.	Ep. Rep., No. 362, of Çrīkūrmaṁ.	Irregular.
14 T.	Çaka-varaṣaṁbulu 1227 gunēḍu Çrīmad-Anaṁttavarma-Pratāpa-Vīra-Çri-Naranārasiṁha-dēvara prvarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁhva-(*tsa)raṁbulu 33, gu çrā-i Viṣamu-saṁkrāṁti, or Çaka 1227 year 33, Viṣuva saṇkrānti.	Ep. Rep., No. 273, of Çrīkūrmaṁ; My Ms. transcript.	Unverifiable.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	REMARKS.
15 T.	Vīra-Çrī-Nārasiṁhya-dēvara vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 34 aguṇnēṁṭi Kārttika-kṛṣṇa 13 Gurū-vārāna, or year 34, Kārttika Kṛ. 13, Thursday.	Ep. Rep., No. 292, of Çrīkūrmaṁ.	Irregular.
	Circa A.H. 678 or 679, *i.e.*, A.D. 1279 or 1280.	Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī, Elliott's Mahomedan History of India, Vol. III, p. 112.	Invasion of Jāj-nagar by Tughril Khān, the Bengal ruler.

First year.

From the above we get—

Çaka	... 1201- 2	=	3rd aṅka	or	2nd	year
,,	... 1204- 5	=	7th	,,	5th	,,
,,	... 1211-12	=	14th	,,	12th	,,
,,	... 1212-13	=	15th	,,	13th	,,
,,	... 1214-15	=	18th	,,	15th	,,
,,	... 1216- 7	=	22nd (? 21st)	aṅka	18th	year (? 17th)
,,	1217-8 (not 1217)	=	21st (? 22nd)	,,	17th	,, (? 18th)
,,	... 1218-19	=	23rd	,,	19th	,,

Seven of the inscriptions give the initial year = 1200-1 Çaka.

One copperplate inscription of Kēndupāṭnā gives the initial year = 1201-2 Çaka, but it makes a mistake of one year in the Çaka year, and therefore presumably also in the aṅka year. One inscription (No. 297) apparently makes mistakes both in the Çaka and aṅka year, if the tithi and week-day given be correct.

The initial year given by the majority of the inscriptions thus falls in Çaka 1200–1.

Last year.

No regnal year of the succeeding king being known, we have to fall back upon the year assigned by the Puri copperplates, *viz.*, 34, which, as aṅka, is equal to 28th year. This agrees with the initial year of his grandson Nṛsiṁha Dēva III, as seen below :—

Name of the king.	Initial year (Çaka).	Last year (Çaka).	Year given in the copperplates
Nṛsiṁha Dēva II	1200-1	1227-28	37th aṅka, or 28th year.
Bhānu Dēva II	1227-8	1249-50	24 years (*i.e.* 23 years and odd).
Nṛsiṁha Dēva III	1249-50, as deduced from his inscriptions.		

The Kēndupāṭnā copperplates, 3 series, end in this king.

Relationship and titles.

Nṛsiṁha Dēva II was son of Bhānu Dēva I by Jākalla Dēvī of *cālukya kula*. He is called also Narasiṁha Dēva, Vīra-Narasiṁha Dēva, Vīra-Çrī or Çrī-Vīra Narasiṁha Dēva, Pratāpa-Vīra-Çri-Narasiṁha Dēva, Vīra-Çrī or Çrī-Vīra-Narānārasiṁha Dēva, Anantavarmma-Pratāpa-Vīra-Narānārasiṁha Dēva. In the Kēndupāṭnā copperplates he is said to have had *virudas* beginning with "*Caturdaça-bhuvan-ādhipati*," lord of the fourteen worlds.

Historical facts.

The inscription No. 323 of Çrīkūrmaṁ records the grant of a minister of his named Garuḍa-Nārāyaṇa Dēva, son of Dōsāditya Dēva.

Inscription No. 290 mentions that Naraharitīrtha, a governor of Kaliṅga, built a shrine of Yōgānanda Nṛsiṁha in front of the Kūrmēçvara temple (at Çrīkūrmam). This officer's name is also mentioned in Nos. 291, 367, and 369 of Çrīkūrmaṁ, and in 305 and 311 of 1900 of Siṁhācalam temple. All these inscriptions have been edited with an interesting introduction by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 260-8. The inscriptions range from Çaka 1186 to 1215.

Naraharitīrtha's father seems to have been a minister. Narahari was a *cēlā* of Ānandatīrtha, the famous founder of the Dvaita school of philosophy. According to *Narahariya-stōtra* quoted by Mr. H. K. Sastri, the Guru ordered him to go to the Gajapati king and to be a ruler under him; Naraharitīrtha went there and ruled the country for twelve years, the king being an infant. In *Raktākṣi-samvatsara*, or A.D. 1324, he became mahant and died in the year Çrīmukha or A.D., 1333. His inscriptions have 1186 Çaka as the earliest date; and he apparently became ruler of Kaliṅga in the very first year of Bhānu Dēva I, retiring a few years before the death of Naṛasiṁha Dēva II. His father was probably a minister of Nṛsiṁha Dēva I. The long gap of 31 years between A.D. 1293 and A.D. 1324 is not explained; and therefore the traditional date of 1324 is to be received with caution.

XI. Bhānu Dēva II.

[Çaka 1227-8 — Çaka 1249-50.]

Only two inscriptions of this king's time are as yet known :—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 S.&T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbhu(bu)lu 1231 guṇēṁ[ṭṭi] Çrī-Jaga[nu]ātha-dēvara vijaya-rājya-saṁ[v]atsaraṁbulu [3] gu çrāhi	Ep. Rep., No. 332, of Çrīkūrmaṁ; Ep. Ind., V., pp. 35–6.	Irregular.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	REMARKS.
2 T.	Kanya-çukla 5 yu Guru-vāramuna Çri-vīra-Bānu- dēva-ji[yya]-naṁgāri, (or in words) Çrī-Çaka-varṣē çaçi-guṇa-ravigē Cā[çvayuk-çu]kla-pakṣē māsē kaṁtēya-tithyāṁ Sura-guru-divasē, or Çaka 1231, Kanyā Çu. 5, Thursday.		
	Çaka-varṣaṁ(ruṣaṁ)bhu(bu)lu 1 2 4 3 guṇēṁti Karkāṭaka-çukla-trayōdaçiyu Guru-vāra-muṇāṁḍu Çrī-Vīr-ādi-Vīra-Çrī-Bhānu-dēvaru(ra), or Çaka 1243, Karkāṭaka Çu. 13, Thursday = 6th August, 1321.	Ep. Rep., No. 302, of Çrīkūrmaṁ.	Verified.
	About A.H. 722, or 1323 A.D.	Ẓiyā-ud-dīn Barṇī, Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhi, Elliott's Hist. Mah. India, Vol. III, p. 234.	Invasion of Jāj-nagar by the Prince Ulugh Khān.

First and last year.

No verified regnal years of this king being available, his initial year is taken from the last year of Nṛsiṁha Dēva II. His last year is the same as the first year of Nṛsiṁha Dēva III, Çaka 1249-50, deduced from the latter's inscriptions. The intervening period nearly agrees with the year 24 given in the Puri copperplates.

Relationship and title.

He was son of Nṛsiṁha Dēva II by Cōṛa Dēvī. He is given a fuller title in No. 302, of Çrī-vīrā-di-vīra Çrī-Bhānu-dēva.

Historical facts.

The Puri copperplates describe a bloody war of his with one "Gayāsadīn." He is apparently the same as Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Ṭughlak, whose son Ulugh Khān having captured Arangal invaded Jāj-nagar. Ẓiyā-ud-dīn Bārnī says (p. 234) :—

"The prince then marched towards Jāj-nagar, and there took forty elephants, with which he returned to Tilang. These he sent on to his father."

Is it on the strength of this excursion that Jāj-nagar was included as No. 22 in the list of the 23 provinces to which Ulugh Khān succeeded according to Ibn Batutah ? [see his list in note 1 to p. 203, Thomas' Path. Chron.]. Ẓiyā-ud-dīn Bārnī, however, omits Jāj-nagar from his list [Elliot, III, p. 236].

No. 332 of Çrīkūrmam shows that Jagannātha Dēva of the Eastern Çālukya family was a feudatory of this king. No. 302 mentions a grant of one Gharaḍamaji Çrī-rāma-sēnāpati, who is described as the military chief of Kaliṅga (kaliṁga-rakṣapāla), breaker of Kumēḷi (kumēli-bhaṁjam), slayer of Kañcāla (Kaṁcālā-çiraç-chēdana) reducer of Kōnddu (Kōṁddu-marddana), a lion to Gaṇḍra-dāmu Kōrama (Gaṁḍradāmu-kōrama simhya-maina), and lastly the own servant and minister (amāitya) of Bhānu Dēva. Except Kaliṅga, none of the other names I am able to identify.

XII. Nṛsiṁha Déva III.

[Çaka 1249-50 — Çaka 1274-5.]

The undermentioned inscriptions of this king's reign have come to light :—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
1 T.	Çri-Pratāpa-vīrā-di vīra-N a r a n ā r a - siṁhya-dēvaru(ra) pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvvatsaraṁbulu 7 çrāḷi Siṁhya-çukla 7 Guruvāramuna, or year 7, (?4) Siṁha Çu. 7, Thursday = 1st September, A.D. 1329.	Ep. Rep., No. 337, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.
2 S. & O.	Çāk-ābdē çaçi-nētra-vāṇa-[na]yanē tv-Āṣāḍha-kri(kṛ)ṣṇē tithau s a p t a-myāṁ, (or again below) Prata(ā)pa-Çrī-vīra-Naranārasiṁgga-dēvaṁkkara vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa 4 çrāyini Karkkaṭaka-kri(ṛ)ṣṇa 7 Kavi-vārē, or Çaka 1252, year 4, month Āṣāḍha, Karkaṭaka (?) Kṛ. 7, Friday = 8th June, A.D. 1330 (Pūrṇimānta).	Ep. Rep., No. 331, of Çrīkūrmam.	Verified.
3 T.	Pratāpa-vīra-Çrī-Naranā r a s i ṁ h y a-dēvasya pravarddhamāna-v i j a y a-rājya-saṁvvatsa7 çrā-i Riṣava-çukla-paurnnamī Sōma-vāramuna, or year 7, Ṛṣava pūrṇimā, Monday = 11th May, A.D. 1332.	Ep. Rep., No. 314, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.
4 S. & T.	Çaka-varu(*ṣa)ṁbulu 1263 gunēmṭṭi Jyēṣṭha-çukla-paṁcami Guruvāramunāṁdu (or in words). Çak-ābdē Rāma-tarkka-çravaṇa-ça ç i-yutē Jyēṣṭha-çuklē capakṣē pañca-myāṁ Jīva-vārē-bhijiti çubha-dinē, or Çaka 1263, Jyēṣṭha Çu. 5, Thursday.	Ep. Rep., No. 345, of Çrīkūrmam.	Irregular.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
5 S. & T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 1263 gunnē ṁṭṭi Pratāpa-çrī-vīra-Naraṇārasiṁhya-dēva-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 18 çrāhini Kuṁbha(bha)-kṛṣṇa-daçamī Çukra-vārān, (or in words) Çāk-ābdē rāma-tarkka-dyu-maṇi-parimitē Kuṁbha-kṛṣṇē vārē Kāvyē ca lagnē-bhijiti, or Çaka 1263, year 18, Kumbha Kṛ. 10, Friday = 1st February, A.D. 1342 (Pūrṇimānta).	Ep. Rep., No. 300, of Çrīkūrmam.	Verified.
6 S. & T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 1265 gunnē ṁṭṭi Jyēṣṭha-çukla dvitiyyayu Ravi-vāra-munāṁḍu, (or in words) Bāṇa-tarkk-ākṣi-çaçi-saṁkhya-gaṇ[ā]nvitē çrēṣṭhē māsi dvitiyyāyāṁ çukla-pakṣē-rkka-vārakē, or Çaka 1265, Jyēṣṭha Çu. 2, Sunday.	Ep. Rep., No. 308, of Çrīkūrmam.	Irregular.
7 T	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 1267 gunnē ṁṭṭi-Pratāpi-Çrī-vīra-Naraṇārasiṁhya-dēvaru(ra) pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 22 gu çrāhini Jyēṣṭha-kṛṣṇa-dvitiyyayu Maṁgala-vāra-munāṁḍu, or Çaka 1267, year 22, Jyēṣṭha Kṛ. 2, Tuesday = 19th April, A.D. 1346 (Pūrṇimānta).	Ep. Rep., No. 358, of Çrīkūrmam.	Verified.
8 S.	Çaka-vatsarē muni-ru(ṛ)tur-nnētr-ēndu-saṁkhy-ānvitē māsē çākṣara-sabditē pratipadē çubhr-āṁçu-vārē çubhē Çrimat Çrī-Narasiṁhya-dēva-dharaṇī-nāthasya, or Çaka 1267, Çrāvana (?) Çu. (?) 1, Monday.	Ep. Rep., No. 344, of Çrīkūrmam.	Irregular.
9 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1267 gunē ṁṭṭi Pratāpa-vīra-Naraṇārasiṁhya-dēva-sya pravarddhamānna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 23 çrāhi Kuṁbha çukla-pratipadā Buda(dha)-vārān, or Çaka 1267, year 23, Kumbha Çu. 1, Wednesday.	Ep. Rep., No. 319, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.
10 S. & T.	Çāk-ābdē çruti-siṁdhu-nētra-dharaṇī-saṁkhy-ānvitē Mārggakē māsē Maṁgala-çukla-pakṣa-divasē ēkādaçī-saṁyutē vārē Kāvya-dinē Nṛsiṁhya-ṇṛpatē, or Çaka 1271, mārgaçīrṣa Çu. 11, Friday.	Ep. Rep., No. 309, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.
11 T.	Çaka-varusaṁbulu 1271 nēṭi Vīr-ādi-vīra-Nara-Nārasiṁhya-dēva-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu 28 gu çrāhi	Ep. Rep., No. 310, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	REMARKS:
	Dhanu-çukla-ēkādaçī Maṁgala-vāramunāṁḍu, Çaka 1271, year 28, Dhanu Çu. 11, Tuesday.		
12 T.	Çakha(ka)-varuçaṁbbulu 1271 kaṁḍḍagunēṁṭi Çrī-vīr-ādi-vīra-Naranārasiṁhya-dēva-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsa (*ra) 28 çrā-i Mina-çukla 11 Sauri-vāramun[ā], or Çaka 1271, year 28, Mīna Çu. 11, Saturday = 20th March, A.D. 1350.	Ep. Rep., No. 343, of Çrikūrmam.	Verified.
13 S. & T.	Çaka varuṣaṁbulu 1272 gunēṁṭi Çrivīr-ādi-vira-Naranārasiṁhya-dēva-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbu 29 gunēṭi Pusya-saṁkrāṁ[ti] saptamiṁ Bhānu-bārān, (or in words) çāk-ābdē ravi-sāgar-ākṣiṁ-sahitē Pauṣē ca māsē tithau saptamyāṁ çukla-[pakṣē] si (? di) ti-suna-saitē, or Çaka 1272, year 29, Pauṣa saṅkranti, Çu. 7 Sunday.	Ep. Rep., No. 355, of Çrikūrmam.	Irregular.

First year. From the above we get—

Çaka 1251-2	=	4th	aṅka or 3rd	year
,, 1253-4	=	7th	,, 5th	,,
,, 1263-4	=	18th	,, 15th	,,
,, 1266-7	=	22nd	,, 18th	,,
,, 1267-8	=	23rd	,, 19th	,,
,, 1271-2	=	28th	,, 23rd	,,
,, 1272-3	=	29th	,, 24th	,,
∴ ,, 1249-50	=	1st year.		

Last year. The last year will be the first year of his successor, *viz.*, Çaka 1274-5. The copperplate year 24 does not agree with the years of reign thus deduced,

26. But the total of years given in the copperplates to this king, his predecessor and his successor comes out equal to the total of years as deduced from their inscriptions.

Relationships. He was son of Bhānu Dēva II by the queen Lakṣmī Dēvī. The Puri copperplates name only one queen of his, Kāmala Dēvī; but in the Çrikūrmaṁ inscriptions, Gaṇgā Dēvī *alias* Gaṇgāmbā or Gaṇgāmbikā (Nos. 308, 309, 343, and 344), and probably Kōmmi-dēvammā (Nos. 310 and 345)

are mentioned as his queens. Is Kōmmidēvammā another name of Kāmala Dēvī? He had a daughter through Kōmmidēvammā named Sitā Dēvī (No. 345), and No. 343 records a grant of this Sitā Dēvī.

No. 324 records a remarkable grant of Vīra-Bhānu-Dēva III, by which he gave to the temple of Çrīkūrmaṁ images of Vīra-Narasiṁha Dēva and Gaṇgāmbikā holding lamps. From this is it to be inferred that Gaṇgāmbikā was the mother of Bhānu Dēva III and not Kāmala Dēvī as stated in the copperplates?

XIII. Bhānu Dēva III.

[Çaka 1274-5 — Çaka 1300-1].

Only three inscriptions of this king's rule have hitherto been found:—

MATERIALS.

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	REMARKS.
1 T.	Çaka-varuṣaṁbulu 1276 gunēṁṭi Pratāṇa-vīra-Bāṇu-dēvara pravardd(*dh)amāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁ(*va-)tsaraṁbulu 3 Çrī-i Bhādrāpada-çukla-pratipadā Paṇḍita-vāra-muna, or Çaka 1276 (current), year 3, (?) Bhādrapada Çu. 1, Wednesday = 31st July, A.D. 1353.	Ep. Rep., No. 315, of Çrīkūrmam.	Verified.
2 S.	Vīra-Çrī-Bhāṇu-dēvasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-tṛtīy-āṇkkē Makarasthē ravau Pauṣē çukla-pratipadi Bhṛgu-vārē, (or in words) Çāk-ābdē ravi-bāṇa-sāgara-yutē [Pau]ṣ-ādi-çuklē dinē, or Çaka 1275, 3rd year, month Makara, Pauṣa Çu. 1, Friday = 27th December, A.D. 1353.	Ep. Rep., No. 324, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.
3 S. & T.	Çaka-varṣaṁbulu 1275 gunēṁṭi Mīna-çukla-pratipadā Sōma-vārān-Çrī-Vīra-Bhānu-dēvara vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara 3 aṇka Çrāhini, (or in words) Çara-siṁdhu-nētra-dharaṇī-saṁkhy-ānvitē Phālgunē māsē Mīna-sitē tithau pratipadi Çrī-Candra-vārē çubhē, or Çaka 1275, year 3, month Phālguṇa (?), Mīna Çu. 1, Monday = 24th February, A.D. 1354.	Ep. Rep., No. 336, of Çrīkūrmam.	Ditto.
	754 A.H. or A.D. 1353 ...	Brigg's Firishta, II, p. 296; *l.c.* Āīn-i-Akbarī, II, p. 219, note 1.	Excursion of the Bengal Sulṭān, Shams-ud-dīn Hāji Ilyās into Jāj-nagar.

MATERIALS.—*Continued.*

No. / Language.	Date-extracts.	References.	Remarks.
	Circa Çaka 1278 or A.D. 1356-7 ...	Sewell, Vijaya-nagara, p. 300; Sewell, Sketch, p. 105.	Defeat of the Gajapati by Saṅgama, nephew of Bukka I.
	762 A.H. or A.D. 1360-1	Tārīkh-i-Firuz-Shāhī of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, Elliot's Mah. Hist. Ind., Vol. III, 312-5; note 4, p. 587, in Tabakati-Nas. (transl., below pp. 591-2).	Invasion of Jāj-nagar by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh of Delhi.

First year. The above give us—

Çaka 1276 (current), or 1274-5 = 3rd (? 2nd) aṅka or 1st year.
„ 1275 (expired), or 1275-6 = 3rd „ 2nd „
∴ „ 1274-5 ... = 1st year.

Last year. From the initial year of the succeeding king, we get Çaka 1300-1 as the last year of this king. The intervening period comes to 27th year against 26 allotted in the copperplates. As noticed under Nṛsiṁha Dēva III, the total of years in the copperplates for these three kings, *viz.*, 74, is just equal to the number of years intervening between 1227-8 and 1300-1.

Relationship and Titles. He was son of Nṛsiṁha Dēva III by Kāmala Dēvī. He has been variously styled as Çrī-Vīra or Vīra-Çrī-Bhānu Dēva, and Pratāpa-Vīra-Bhānu Dēva.

Historical Facts. No. 324, of Çrīkūrmaṁ records that the king gave images of Vīra-Narasiṁha-Dēva and of Gaṅgāmbikā holding lamps, on the 1st day of Pauça çukla pakṣa.

In A.D. 1353, Hāji Ilyās, the Bengal ruler, apparently hearing of the death of the king, raided into Jāj-nagar for capturing elephants. Later on, Saṅgama, the nephew of Bukka I, of Vijayanagara, is credited with having defeated the Gaja-pati, *i.e.*, the Orissa king. Apparently

a tradition of this conquest was heard by the Portuguese Fernão Nuniz who, in his chronicles written probably in A.D. 1535-7, thus says :—

"By his death one called Bucarão inherited this kingdom, and he conquered many lands which at the time of the destruction of that kingdom remained rebellious, and by him they were taken and turned to his power and lordship; and he took the kingdom of Orya, which is very great; it touches on Bengalla." [Sewell's Vijayanagara, p. 300].

The great event of Bhānu Dēva's reign was the invasion of Jāj-nagar by the Delhi Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh. A lengthy description of this invasion will be found in Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shahī, of Shams-i-Sirāj-'Afīf, [Elliot, III, 342-5]. An abstract of it is given in Major Raverty's translation of Ṭabāḳāt-i-Nāṣirī, note 4 to p. 587 (below pp. 591-2). This is quoted here to economise space :—

"On his reaching Jūn-pūr the rains again set in [760 H]." (? 761 H.), "and he stayed there during the rainy season, and in Ẓi-Ḥijjah of that year *set out by way of Bihār towards* Jāj-nagar, which was at the extremity of the territory of Gaḍhah-Katankah. When the Sulṭān reached Kaṛah, Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-dīn, brother of Ẓaffir Khān was left behind with the troops and the heavy equipage, and he *advanced with celerity through Bihār towards* Jāj-nāgar. . . . Having passed the river Mahā-nadrī, Mahān-darī, or Mahān-adrī [the river which falls into the Soṇ doubtless is meant] he reached the city or town of Banārsī [Shams-i-Sarāj and Alfī have Banāras and Budā'-ūnī Bārānī] which is" [*sic* was] "the capital and abode of the Rāe of Jāj-nagar [Shams-i-Sarāj has Rāe of Jājnagar-ūḍīsah]. The Rāe fled towards Taling [Tulingānah], and the Sulṭān *not* pursuing him [Firishtah says pursuing], proceeded to hunt elephants in the vicinity [Shams-i-Sarāj says the Sulṭān remained some time at Banāras, and the Rāe took shelter in one of the islands of *the*, or *on a*, river]; during which time the Rāe despatched emissaries and sought for peace, sending at the same time three elephants, besides rarities and precious things [Shams-i-Sarāj says after his return from Padmāwatī]. Hunting as he went along, the Sulṭān reached the territory of Rāe Bhānu Dīw [Shams-i-Sarāj, Bīr Bhān Dīw—Alfī, Pīr Māhī Dīw—perhaps Bīr Māhī] who sent him some elephants He then *returned from thence* with the object of hunting, came to Padmāwatī, South Bihār probably, which is a part abounding with elephants, captured thirty-three and killed two which could not be secured.... From Padmāwatī Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh returned to Kaṛah in Rajab 762 H."